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Case suffix or post position? A study on Kannada

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ABSTRACT

Case relations are expressed by case suffixes and adpositions in various languages in the world. This paper examines structural, distributional properties and historical development of case suffixes and PPs in Kannada. The paper provides criteria which account the status of case suffix and PP in Kannada. The paper argues that these two need to be considered as two different categories.

1. Introduction

Traditionally the case is explained as a relation between noun and verb in a sentence. It marks the dependent noun for its relation to the head in a sentence. Various languages of the world employ different kinds of methods to express the case relations. Agglutinative languages like the Dravidian have case suffixes as well postpositions (hereafter PP) to express the case relations.

Kannada, a Dravidian major language, is used in several parts of South India, and is an official language of the state of Karnataka. There are 4,37,06,512 speakers of the language according 2011 census of India. The language has historical data right from 5th century AD. Kannada is one of the rich case languages having case suffixes and PPs for the same grammatical function. Hungarian, Finnish etc. are other rich case languages in the world on which more studies have come and they have drawn attention of the linguists. Kannada in particular and Dravidian in general are also rich case languages, however, not much studied.

There are number of case suffixes as well PPs for different case relations used in Kannada. Case suffixes are found for all the case relations, except nominative, whereas PPs are found only for few of the case relations, mainly for the spatial and directional dimensions of the location. Both these forms used to express a particular grammatical relation that is case. Hence, it is interesting to understand the status of these forms.

There are suffixes (attaches to noun at the end), prefixes (attaches to noun at the beginning), infixes (attaches to noun in between) and circumfixes (attaches to noun at both the end) which collectively called as affixes. Similarly, there are PPs (positioned after the noun) and prepositions (positioned before the noun), and in rarest cases there are ambiposition or circumposition (positioned in both the side of noun) which are called adpositions together.

Case suffixes and adpositions express a relation of their noun to the predicate. They are either attached or added on noun and indicates a grammatical and/or semantic relation towards other words mainly verbs within a sentence.

Abbreviations

3 (= Third Person), ABL (= Ablative), ACC (= Accusative), AUG (= Augment), CCM (= Compound Case Marker), CPP (= Compound Post Position), DAT (= Dative), GEN (= Genitive), HP (= Human Plural), ILL (= Illative), INST (= Instrumental), LOC (= Locative), PP (= Post Position), Pr (= Present Tense)

In an outer look, both these seem to be a similar grammatical category that they express case relations. However, they differ in their nature at morphology, syntax and semantics. Unlike free-standing adpositions case affixes fuses with the noun it attaches to. Affixes are more complex, more grammatical than adpositions. And also they are different in their source and historical development. There is a great amount of interest dedicated to understand the status of suffixes and PPs. This would help understanding the historical evolution of grammatical forms and functions, case system, case relations etc. in language.

This paper examines structural, distributional properties and historical development of case suffixes and PPs in Kannada and similarities and dissimilarities between them in morphology, syntax, and semantics are discussed. Further their sources and historical development are also discussed. Case suffixes show a dynamic historical development which is not the same with PPs. This paper provides the criteria which account the status of case suffix and PP in Kannada. The paper argues that these two need to be considered as two different categories.

Theoretical approaches towards suffixes and PPs in recent times are introduced in first part, followed by a little introduction to the Dravidian case system. The second part explains the differences between suffixes and PPs at various levels. Third part discusses the sources and historical development of both of them.

2. Theoretical approaches towards suffixes and PPs:

It is explained that verbs and nouns are the major sources for case suffixes in the world languages. Free morphemes, at first stage, lose their meaning by frequent use and develop into adpositions. Further they develop into case suffixes through the grammaticalisation process. Eventually the free morpheme turned to a bound morpheme (Blake 1994).

The status of category/ies of affix and adposition has been debated in the recent literature in the field of case system. Affixes and adpositions have been claimed to belong to the same category (Fillmore 1968, Emonds 1987). While on the other hand there are arguments that affixes and adpositions are distinguishable (Baker and Kramer 2014, Thuilier 2011). 'Where inflectional case and adpositions co-occur in a language, the adpositional system normally exhibits finer distinctions than the inflectional system' (Blake 1994:11). However, it is also explained that distinguishing them is not easy, 'Although one can easily separate different layers of case marking in a particular language, as in Hindi for instance, it can be difficult to determine whether a single layer of case marking in a particular language is affixal or adpositional.' (Blake 2004:10).

Creissels while highlighting the ambivalence in identifying the distinction between case affixes and adpositions says, 'there is some degree of arbitrariness in the distinction between cases affixes and adpositions as it is recognized in the descriptions of individual languages. It is nevertheless interesting to take this distinction into account, because spatial relation markers that are clearly affixal lend themselves to some generalizations that do not apply to those that are clearly adpositional and vice versa' (Creissels. 2008).

Grammaticalization theory (e.g., Hopper & Traugott 1993; Lehmann 1995) explains that language change is manifested by gradual reduction processes as lexical forms develop into grammatical forms, and further into more concrete grammatical forms. The historical development of nouns into adpositions and eventually into case suffixes is one common example that illustrates the direction of the grammaticalization cline. However, this does not establish a chain of development in Dravidian in general and in Kannada in particular. Locational nouns,

which form a small group of nouns, are used as PPs in Kannada from the earliest records to the date. There is no grammatical change in these forms. On the other hand, deictic developed into case markers, which show a greater functional changes and which would be a better example of grammaticalization.

Kannada is a suffixal language family where suffixes and postpositions are used to express the case relations. In addition to that there are Compound Case Markers and Compound Postpositions used for the same grammatical function. The case syncretism is found extensively in Kannada. Verbs and nouns are argued to be major sources for case markers in the world languages. However, in Kannada deictic are the major sources of case markers, most of the case markers shall be explained from the deictic. There are considerable number of case markers which are developed from nouns, specifically locational nouns. There are few markers which are sourced in verbs; mainly the participial form of verb is used as a case marker.

3. Differences between suffixes and PPs

Case suffixes and PPs in Dravidian show noticeable differences at morphological, syntactic and semantic level. They also differ in their source and historical development. The differences between them are discussed in this part with the Kannada examples.

3.1 Differences at Morphological Level:

3.1.1 Prosodically suffixes are too small like there are monophonic, *-a*, *-i*, *-e* etc., diaphonic, *-li*, *-ke*, *-ge* etc. and few of them are of triphonic, *-anu*, *-ali*, *tetraphonic* *-annu*, *-alli* etc. However, CCMs are phonically bigger forms than suffixes, *-inda*, *-olage* etc. PPs are always bigger forms unlike suffixes, *munde*, *eduru*, *pakka* etc. Further, Suffixes are monosyllabic and, in rare case, disyllabic whereas PPs in most cases disyllabic or tri-syllabic. However, Compound Case Marker (CCM), which is a development of two case suffixes, will be of di-syllabic or tri-syllabic, in very few cases, tetra-syllabic. See the list in below tables (1.1, 1.2, 1.3).

Case suffixes			
Phonic structure		Syllabic structure	
Form	Case relation	Form	Case relation
Monophonic		Monosyllabic	
<i>-a</i>	Instrumental	<i>-a</i>	Instrumental
<i>-i</i>		<i>-i</i>	Locative
<i>-e</i>	”	<i>-e</i>	”
Diaphonic		<i>-li</i>	”
<i>-li</i>	Locative	<i>-ke</i>	Dative
<i>-ke</i>	Dative	<i>-ge</i>	”
<i>-ge</i>	”	<i>-na</i>	Instrumental
<i>-na</i>	Instrumental	Disyllabic	
Triphonic		<i>-anu</i>	Instrumental
<i>-anu</i>	Instrumental	<i>-annu</i>	”
<i>-ali</i>	Locative	<i>-ali</i>	Locative
Four-phonetic		<i>-alli</i>	”
<i>-annu</i>	Instrumental		
<i>-alli</i>	Locative		

Table 1.1: Syllabic Structure of Case Suffixes in Kannada

CCM:

		CCM			
First form		Second form		CCM	Case relation
				Tri-syllabic	
Form	Case relation	Form	Case relation		
<i>-o/</i>	Locative	<i>-age</i>	Locative	<i>-o/age</i>	Locative

Table 1.2: Syllabic Structure of Compound Case Markers in Kannada

PP:

PP		
Form	Meaning	Case relation
Disyllabic		
<i>baḷi</i>	Near	Locative
<i>hinde</i>	Back	''
<i>munde</i>	Front	''
<i>pakka</i>	Side	''
Tri-syllabic		
<i>oḷage</i>	Inside	''
<i>horage</i>	Outside	''
<i>hattira</i>	Near	''
<i>mūlaka</i>	Through	

Table 1.3: Syllabic Structure of Postpositions in Kannada

A form *oḷage* is given both under CCM as well as PP in the above tables. This form shows the features of both suffix as well as PP in use. They are two different monographic forms attained in two different historical developments.

One of them is CCM in which two case suffixes are joined together; the case suffix **-u/ > -o/* is added by another suffix *-age* to form CCM *-oḷage*, which is used as a case suffix. In another development, a monosyllabic locative noun **-u/ > -o/* 'inside', 'house', is added by a locative form *-age* to develop as *oḷage*, which is used as a PP (Kodagunti. 2011). Both the developments are shown below,

Development of CCM:

$$*-u/*-\bar{u} > *-u/ > -o/ + -age (< -agan < *-akan) = -oḷage$$

Development of noun:

$$*-u/ > -o/ + -age (< -agan < *-akan) = oḷage$$

This is a wonderful example that demonstrates the difference between case suffix and PP in their grammaticality, historical development etc. The discussion on CCM, historical development of these forms will be followed.

3.1.2 Suffixes are added directly on noun or on an augment by fusing, where sandhi process is observed. Suffixes are part of nominal inflectional category. PPs are freestanding and will come after the possessive form of the noun. In some cases, with phonological restrictions, null possessive is observed on nouns before PP. The possessive form is optional on nouns ending with *i* and *e*.

Ex.

Case suffixes on noun directly:

Forms: *-li* [LOC], *-ge* [DAT], *-na* [ACC],

maneli

mane+ -li

House + LOC

in house

manege

mane+ -ge

House + DAT

to house

manena

mane+ -na

House + ACC

house

Case suffixes on after an augment:

Forms: *-alli* [LOC], *-ke/-ge* [DAT], *-annu* [ACC], *-inda* [INST]/[ABL]

huḍuganalli

huḍuga+ -n- + -alli

boy +AUG+LOC

in the boy

huḍuganige

huḍuga+ -n- + -ge

boy +AUG+DAT

to the boy

huḍuganinda

huḍuga+ -n- + -inda

boy +AUG+INST

from the boy

PPs on possessive form:

Forms: *baḷi*, *hinde*, *oḷage*, *hattira*

maneya baḷi

mane+ -y- + -a baḷi

house AUG+GEN LOC-PP

near the house

maneya oḷage

mane+ -y- + -a oḷage
 house AUG+GEN LOC-PP
 in the house

maneya hinde
mane+ -y- + -a hinde
 house AUG+GEN LOC-PP
 backside of the house

maneya hattira
mane+ -y- + -a hattira
 house AUG+GEN LOC-PP
 near the house

PPs on null possessive:

Forms: *baḷi*, *hinde*, *oḷage*, *hattira*

mane baḷi
mane+ Ø baḷi
 house AUG+GEN LOC-PP
 near the house

mane oḷage
mane+ Ø oḷage
 house AUG+GEN LOC-PP
 in the house

mane hinde
mane+ Ø hinde
 house AUG+GEN LOC-PP
 backside of the house

mane hattira
mane+ Ø hattira
 house AUG+GEN LOC-PP
 near the house

3.1.3 An interesting development of compounding is observed among case suffixes and as well among PPs.

Compound Case Marker (CCM) is developed when two or more case suffixes join together. This is further used to express the case relation as another suffix. The CCM expresses either the case relation/s that was expressed by both of the suffixes or a different one.

Compounding among two or more PPs is also possible in a few cases, which will further lead to a Compound Post Position (CPP). It is interesting to note that PPs used to express a common case relations can join together to form a CPP, but in the instance of case suffixes, any forms can join together. Further the CPP behave as a PP and in most cases it will be used to

express the same grammatical role of a PP. The diversity in the grammatical roles and dynamics in compounding that is found in CCM is not seen in CPPs.

Ex.

CCM: Two different kinds of CCM in terms of their expression of grammatical role are explained above. According, examples for each CMM is given here.

Forms: *oḷage*, *oḷakke*,

1. CCM expresses a case relation that was expressed by both of the suffixes
 $-oḷage(LOC) < -oḷ(LOC) + -age(LOC)$
2. CCM expresses a different case relation from that which was expressed by any of the case suffixes in it
 $-oḷakke(ILL) < -oḷ(LOC) + -ke(DAT)$

CPP: CPP expresses a case relation that was expressed by both of the suffixes

Forms: *oḷage*, *oḷagaDe*

$oḷage(LOC) < oḷa(LOC) + age(LOC)$

$oḷagaDe(LOC) < oḷa(LOC) + kaDe(LOC)$

3.2 Differences at syntactic level:

3.2.1 Case suffixes serve as constant indicators of a word boundary, thereby blocking addition of any form on a word. No lexical or a grammatical form is allowed to add on a case suffix, whereas PP can be marked by other grammatical suffixes.

Ex.

Case suffix:

maneyalli
house + -y- + -alli
 house +AUG+ LOC
 in the house

Post position:

maneya munde
 in front of house
mane + -y- + -a munde
 house +AUG+ GEN LOC-PP

maneya hattira
 near the house
mane + -y- + -a hattira
 house +AUG+GEN near

Post position added by another suffix:

Locative case suffix on PP: *hattira*, *pakka*

maneya hattiradalli
mane + -y- + -a hattira + -d- + -alli
 house +AUG+ GEN near LOC-PP+LOC
 in the neighbourhood/near the house

maneya pakkadalli

mane + -y- + -a *pakka* + -d- + -alli
house +AUG+ GEN side LOC-PP+LOC
in the neighbourhood the house

Dative case suffix on PP: *munde*, *hattira*

maneya mundakke
mane + -y- + -a *munde* + -kke
house +AUG+ GEN front LOC-PP+DAT
to the front of the house

maneya hattirakke
mane + -y- + -a *hattira* + -kke
house +AUG+GEN near LOC-PP+DAT
to the neighbourhood/near of the house

3.2.2 Suffix is a bound morph which can never occur independently; however, PP can occur independently.

Ex.

Case suffix:

Forms: -alli [LOC], -ke/-ge [DAT], -na/-annu [ACC], -inda [INST],[ABL]

These suffixes can never occur independently.

Post position: PPs those occur independently.

Forms: *oḷage*, *horage*,

As PP:

avaru maneya oḷage iddāre
mane + -y- + -a *oḷage* *ir* -d-āre
house AUG+GEN LOC-PP be Pr3HP
they are inside the house

avaru huDugana hattira iddāre
huDuga + -n- + -a *hattira* *ir* -d-āre
boy AUG+GEN LOC-PP be Pr3HP
they are near the boy

As noun:

avaru oḷage iddāre
oḷage *ir* -d-āre
inside be Pr3HP
they are inside

avaru hattira iddāre
hattira *ir* -d-āre
near be Pr3HP
they are nearby

PPs are nominal, adjectival or adverbial when they are used independently and they also undergo nominalization process. However, examples are not given for different functions of their independent usage as this paper does not deal with the functions of locational nouns as free morphemes, but as PPs.

3.3 Difference at semantic level:

3.3.1 Meaning of proto forms: As mentioned above most case markers are derived from deictic, and most PPs are locational nouns, few are developed from verbs. The Deictic expressions have traditionally focused on the relative distance of a referent from the speaker that signifies the location. It is to be noted that locational nouns also specify the location; however, they differ in referring the location. Deictic refers the location of a referent from the point of speaker. The locational nouns refer a relative location from the point of the object in the sentence or in the discourse. There are verb sourced PPs like *tagoNDu*, participial form of the verb *tago* ‘take’.

3.4 Differences in Sources:

The deictic is the major source for case markers in Dravidian. However, few of case suffixes are also developed from locational nouns and one form, *-āsi* used in colloquial Kannada for ablative, from verb. Most PPs are basically nouns, particularly locational nouns except few PPs like *tagoNDu* used for instrumental, which is a verb. The sources of case suffixes are shown in a table below, which is followed by the source of PPs.

Source category		Source form	Proto form/s	Suffix
Deictic	Distal	*-a/*-ā	*-an/*-ān, *-al/*-āl, *-aḷ/*-āḷ	-a, -aṇ, -annu, -alli, -li
	Intermediate	*-u/*-ū	*-un, *-ul, *-uḷ	-oḷu, -oḷage
	Proximate	*-i/*-ī	*-in, *-il	-i
Noun		*-akan	*-akan	-ku, -gu
Verb		*pāy	*pāy	-āsi
--		CCM	*-intan	-inda
			-oḷage	-oḷage

Table 2.1: Source and proto forms of case markers in Kannada

Source category	Source form	Proto form	PP
Noun	Locational Noun	<i>oḷ</i>	<i>oḷage</i>
”	”	<i>mē</i>	<i>mēle</i>
”	”	<i>kīḷ</i>	<i>keḷage</i>
”	”	<i>mun</i>	<i>munde</i>
”	”	<i>pin</i>	<i>hinde</i>
Verb	Participial form of verb	<i>tago+NDu</i> <i>participial form</i>	<i>tagoNDu</i>

Table 2.2: Source and proto forms of PPs in Kannada

3.5 Difference in Historical development:

Historical development of case suffixes and PP include both phonological and morphological stages. There are certain common features of historical development of case

suffixes, which explain most of the case suffixes not only in Kannada but also in the Dravidian family. Interestingly case suffixes developed from deictic, locational nouns and also the form developed from verb undergoes a common historical development (Kodagunti. 2011).

PPs have a different and very simple historical development. There are two developments, one is phonological extension and the other is compounding of a locational noun and a locational form. The later one may be called as grammatical construction. There is a verb rooted form, *tagoNDu*, used to express instrumental as a PP. The participial form of the verb *tago* ‘take’ is used as PP.

The complex development in several stages seen in case suffixes is not found in the development of PPs.

Interestingly, there are case suffixes developed from locational nouns, and the same forms are used as PPs. Though they share common source, the historical development is completely different in both the cases.

The common features of historical development of case suffixes are shown at first with examples, followed by PPs.

- The deictic is used in the monophonic form which is a proto form. Ex.: **-a*, **-ā*
- A monophonic deictic form is added by derivative suffix to be elevated in to diaphonic form. Ex.: **-a/*-ā > *-an*, **-a/*-ā > *-ān*
- Consonant ending form is developed in to vowel ending form. Ex.: **-a/*-ā > *-an > -anu*
- A consonant or vowel terminal form is developed in to a geminated form. Ex.: **-a/*-ā > *-an > -annu*, **-a/*-ā > *-an > -anu > -annu*
- A developed form loses its initial vowel. Ex.: **-a/*-ā > *-an > -n*

Examples for all three deictic are shown below.

Deictic	Proto form	Development -a	Development -b	Development -c	Development -d	Development -e
Distal deictic	<i>*-a/*-ā</i>	<i>*-a/*-ā</i>	<i>*-a/*-ā > *-an</i>	<i>*-a/*-ā > *-an > -anu</i>	<i>*-a/*-ā > *-an > -annu</i>	<i>*-a/*-ā > *-an > -n</i>
		<i>*-a/*-ā</i>	<i>*-a/*-ā > *-al</i>	<i>*-a/*-ā > *-al > -ali</i>	<i>*-a/*-ā > *-al > -alli</i>	--
Intermediate deictic	<i>*-u/*-ū</i>	<i>*-u/*-ū</i>	<i>*-u/*-ū > *-uḷ > -oḷ</i>	<i>*-u/*-ū > *-uḷ > -oḷ > -oḷu</i>	--	--
		<i>*-u/*-ū</i>	<i>*-u/*-ū > *-ūn</i>	--	--	--
Proximate deictic	<i>*-i/*-ī</i>	<i>*-i/*-ī</i>	<i>*-i/*-ī > *-in</i>	--	--	--
		<i>*-i/*-ī</i>	<i>*-i/*-ī > *-il</i>	--	--	--

Table 3.1: Historical development of case suffixes sourced in deictic in Kannada

Few of the locational nouns are also developed as case suffixes by grammaticalisation process. The locational nouns are mostly dipthongic in their proto forms. Hence, the elevation of monophonic form that undergoes in the case of deictic is not seen here and it gets vowel ending form directly, the second stage in the development.

Deictic	Proto form	Development -a	Development -c	Development -d	Development -e
Locational	<i>*-akan</i>	<i>*-akan</i>	<i>*-akan > -aka</i>	--	<i>*-akan > -aka > -</i>

Noun					<i>ka/-ke/-ki</i>
			*- <i>akan</i> >- <i>aka</i>	*- <i>akan</i> >- <i>aka</i> >- <i>akka</i>	*- <i>akan</i> >- <i>aka</i> >- <i>akka</i> >- <i>kka</i> / <i>kke</i> / <i>kki</i>
			*- <i>akan</i> >- <i>aka</i> >- <i>aga</i>	--	*- <i>akan</i> >- <i>aka</i> >- <i>aga</i> >- <i>ga</i> / <i>ge</i> / <i>gi</i>
			*- <i>akan</i> >- <i>aka</i> >- <i>aga</i>	*- <i>akan</i> >- <i>aka</i> >- <i>aga</i> >- <i>agga</i>	*- <i>akan</i> >- <i>aka</i> >- <i>aga</i> >- <i>agga</i> >- <i>gga</i> / <i>gge</i> / <i>ggi</i>

Table 3.1: Historical development of case suffixes sourced in locational noun in Kannada

Common features that can be observed in the development of PPs are given below.

Development of PPs with phonological extension:

Case relation	PP	Proto form	Historical development
LOC.	<i>baḷi</i>	* <i>baḷi</i>	<i>baḷi</i> > <i>baḷi</i>
”	<i>pakka</i>	* <i>pakka</i>	<i>pakka</i>
”	<i>kaḍay</i>	* <i>kaḍe</i>	<i>kaḍay</i> > <i>kaḍe</i>

Table 3.1: Historical development of PPs in Kannada

Development of CPPs:

Case relation	PP	Proto form	Historical development
LOC.	<i>mēle</i>	* <i>mē</i>	<i>mē</i> +*- <i>al</i> > <i>mēl</i> > <i>mēle</i>
”	<i>munde</i>	* <i>mun</i>	<i>mun</i> + <i>-e</i> > <i>munde</i>
”	<i>hinde</i>	* <i>pin</i>	<i>pin</i> + <i>-e</i> > <i>pinde</i> > <i>hinde</i>

It may be mentioned here that the nature of post positions in Kannada differs with many other languages in the world. The differences between case suffixes and post positions are also different in compare with other languages of the world. A detailed study in this regard is necessary to understand many more issues. This would further shed light to understand the post positions in particular and adpositions in general in the world languages.

This paper has brought various differences between case suffixes and post positions at morphological, syntactic, semantic levels and also in the source and historical developments of them in Kannada. Based on the arguments presented here it is clear that case suffixes and post positions are two different categories.

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Misogyny In Nigerian Hip-Hop: A Critical Discourse Analysis Of Selected Songs Of Olamide And Lil Kesh

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ABSTRACT

This study investigated the language use that project textual violence against women in the lyrics of Olamide and Lil Kesh with a view to uncovering the interactions between linguistic devices and the ideologies. Fairclough's and Mills' models of critical discourse analysis served as the theoretical framework. Data were from songs of two Nigerian hip-hop artistes who were selected based on the relevance on their lyrics to the focus of the study. Four main ideologies, which have overlapping features, were found in the lyrics of the selected songs. These were representation of women as sex objects, the image of women as a passive object, female stereotypes and, legitimating violence. Olamide and Lil Kesh encouraged the act of comparing women to inanimate objects, negative evaluation of women, valuing women based on their appearances rather than their intelligence or personality. These were revealed through linguistic devices such as transitivity, noun phrase and clauses. Through these linguistic devices, these Nigerian hip-hop artistes encouraged naturalising misogynistic stereotypes of women.

1. Introduction

Language is not simply a medium of communication; it also projects culture, identity, tradition, and gender. It is responsible for constructing realities and orienting individuals, either consciously or unconsciously, on what to believe, and how to express what is believed. Language, in sum, projects ideology. In the same way, these ideologies are shaped by societal beliefs, which are consciously followed or unconsciously reflected in social and individual activities (and by extension, in language use). According to Fairclough (2010, p. 169), "people live in ways which construct work, family, gender, sexuality and so forth in particular ways, which emanate from experts attached to social systems and organisations, and which come to them through the mass media (print, radio, television, and the internet)".

Hence, the development of language use in any society is akin to social attitudes displayed by human beings which according to (Obiols, 2002) is important in predicting a given linguistic behaviour and choice of a particular language in multilingual communities. In human communication and interaction, verbal communication is one of the means through which misogyny, sexism and gender discrimination are perpetrated and reproduced by speakers. Language subtly reproduces the societal asymmetries of status and power in favour of men, which are attached to the corresponding social roles. In all spheres of life, women are construed as a special gender, having certain social characteristics that distinguish them from men not necessarily through biology or hormonal influence but through social constructions. There are

social constructs that the society has formed which indicate the differences between men and women. These social constructions bring varied ideologies that are constructed and legitimised by the use of language. Language being the basic tool that constructs these ideologies equally constructs identities of social groups that are gender related.

Discourses can be used for an assertion of power, dominance and knowledge, and they can be used for resistance and critique. One such occasion where discourse is used to assert, sustain and legitimise gender inequality is in the song-texts of Nigerian hip-hop music. This study, therefore, examines the significant features of language of misogyny in selected Nigerian hip-hop songs not only from the angle of macro –linguistics structures but also from the perspective of discourse patterns, taking into consideration the ideological and gender patterns encoded and reproduced in the texts.

More often than not, misogynistic language is unnoticed. In society, men are considered the norm for the human species: their characteristics, thoughts, beliefs and actions are viewed as fully representing those of all humans, male and female. Where the misogynistic behaviour comes in is when women do not behave in the way men deem appropriate. Most misogynists believe that women should not be strong-willed, and should always defer to the men around her. This belief results in some men being verbally, and even physically, abusive. This practice can make women invisible in language or altogether excludes them. Women's linguistic status is often dependent on or derives from that of men, which is represented as autonomous. By relegating women to a dependent, subordinate position, sexist language prevents the portrayal of women and men as different but equal human beings.

Misogyny, in a simple term, is the act that belittles and prejudices women. It is an ideology that reduces women to objects for men's ownership, use, or abuse. It diminishes women to expendable beings. It can be direct, surreptitious or through sarcasm, put in the context of a joke. The expression of misogyny by hip-hop musicians is not a new phenomenon. The expression of misogyny has been accepted and allowed to flourish, generating wealth for some of the artistes and the music industry as a whole. Akin to the trend in the global popular music, negative portrayal of the female gender has gained popularity in the recent years among some Nigerian popular musicians. In hip-hop music, this misogynist tendencies are observed in portrayal of females as inferior to males, use of derogatory terms, demeaning nature of lyrical content in connection with women, objectification of women in music videos, and stereotyping and prejudice in general against women.

Over time, many Nigerian hip-hop musicians indulge in a lot of textual violence on women with the sole intension of being accepted and getting wider view. Many of these musicians can be said to be misogynists in their language use. According to King (2017), misogyny is rife in America and in the entire world; no woman is safe from unwanted sexual advances, the threat of sexual violence and crude remarks. Linguists therefore are getting more and more interested in both the linguistic structures of texts and how texts feature these misogynist tendencies.

1.2 Existing studies on misogyny in language use

One of the important issues contributing to the mal- and mistreatment of women is the way through which they are represented socially, including in the music industries. Within language

and gender research, there has been a wealth of research whose aim is to demonstrate empirically how women are relegated to less powerful positions by their male counterparts. A considerable number of studies have been done on the role of texts in the construction of gender identity and gender inequality. Notable among them are Frye (1983), Wright (2002), Romaine (2008), Bamgbose (2012), and Noor (2015). Existing studies on the objectification of women in media and in literature have been investigated from different fields of study in many countries of the world including Nigeria. Some of these are Babatunde and Osuolale-Ajayi (2015), (discourse analysis) Nwaolikpe (2014) (critical discourse analysis), and Daniel (2008) (pragmatics).

Babatunde and Osuolale-Ajayi (2015) examined the linguistic and non-linguistic indicators of stereotypes of women in selected telecommunication and drink advertisements in *The Punch* newspaper in Nigeria. They worked with a randomly selected twenty-four adverts featuring female models. Their study revealed that the advertisements are active platforms of negative stereotypes of women. While the study investigates gender inequality, it did not examine the role of discourse in the production, reproduction and contestation of the underlying ideologies in news reports focusing on gender issues in political discourse in the media.

Nwaolikpe (2014) examined the representation of women in the media. He used the agenda-setting theory to explain the importance readers attach to gender representation in the photographic image of women in print media. Findings from the content analysis of articles published from January to December 2012 in two Nigerian national newspapers showed that the photographic images of women in the print media undermine the status of the African woman. Nigerian women were portrayed negatively by confining them to areas traditionally meant for them, and reinforcing gender discrimination and stereotypes. Being a study from the perspective of media discourse, Nwaolikpe (2014) is related to the present study. However, it is a semiotic analysis; this is a point of departure between the present study and Nwaolikpe's study. The present study sourced its data from song-texts and is focused on the verbal aspect of language only.

2. Research Objective

The studies above have made tremendous efforts to establish the linguistic and non-linguistic indicators of stereotypes of women. However, there is a dearth of studies on the objectification of women's sexuality, particularly, within the context of Nigerian hip-hop culture. Past studies have been unable to sufficiently isolate misogyny and gender ideologies that are prevalent in the Nigerian hip-hop music. This study therefore aims to fill this gap by identifying the lexical choices that project female stereotypes and gender ideologies in Nigerian hip-hop music. This is done using songs of two popular Nigerian hip-hop musicians.

3. Theoretical background: Fairclough's and Mills' Models of Critical Discourse Analysis

This study adopts the Critical Discourse Analytical framework. Its methodology relies on the Fairclough model of CDA and aspects of Mills' model. In CDA, analysis of discourse is not merely transparent; it is instead a perspective and committed approach that includes examining the web of social processes implicated in the discourse. According to Fairclough and Wodak (1997), CDA sees itself not as dispassionate and objective social science, but as "engaged and committed". Critical Discourse Analysis is one of the most widely acclaimed theoretical models in modern linguistics.

Fairclough (1989) adopts critical discourse analysis (CDA) as an approach for analysing social interactions in a way which focuses on their linguistic elements. For Fairclough, these linguistic elements are determinants of the social relationships within the social system. As an approach for discourse analysis, CDA links many interdisciplinary approaches for the sake of providing more profound analysis for discursive practices. Fairclough describes CDA as 'critical' as it analyses and criticises the connection between properties of texts and social processes as represented in the ideologies and in power relations. His framework approaches the analysis in three dimensions. For him, the discursive practices involve, simultaneously, "(i) a language text, spoken or written, (ii) discourse practice (text production and text interpretation), (iii) sociocultural practice." (Fairclough 1995, p. 97). Fairclough sees his CDA framework as an assessment of semiosis that perceives language as an essential part of social processes. He is of a view that theoretical orientation to discourse is a three level analysis of discourse, which examines not only linguistic features of a text but also processes of text production, distribution and interpretation. He believes that textual analysis should analyse both form and meaning. He further perceives texts as integrating, ideational, interpersonal and textual meaning, which are in line with Halliday's meta-functions of language.

For Mills (1998, 2004), critical discourse analysis in post-feminism stance is as a way to expose the patriarchal social practices that put either an overt or covert forms of sexism and gender values that disadvantage the powerless. It transcends being a resistance against dominance of the powerful by the powerless. She contends that for texts that are blatantly sexist, the exposure is easier. However, sometimes the sexism and gendered assumptions are not always visible from the start, and on the surface, can seem to not have been sexist at all. What one must do, she contends, is to put an emphasis on the exposure of discursive frameworks which are themselves gendered in nature and which mislead the reader, especially a female reader, in reading them. Mills' analytical tools consist of two viewpoints: the subject-object positioning, followed by the reader positioning. Afterwards, the tools are then employed to detect and dissect the portrayal of women in terms of the marginalisation patterns within these texts.

4. Research Methodology: Data collection and Data analysis

Ten song-texts (five from each artiste) were selected from two popular Nigerian hip-hop artistes: Olamide and Lil Kesh. The song-texts used in this study were sourced from an online lyrics archive. The artistes (Olamide and Likesh) were selected based on their visibility on the social space and the large followership they enjoy. They are well-known among young people who claim that their songs, among others, are true to listeners' real life experiences. Olamide Adedeji also known as Baddo is from Bariga, a suburb of Lagos State. He started his career in 2000, but did not get his big break until 2010 with his single, "Eni Duro". He primarily raps in the Yoruba. Keshinro Ololade, popularly known by his stage name Lil Kesh rose to fame after releasing the chart-topping song titled "Shoki". He, like Olamide, was born and raised in Bariga too.

The song-texts were selected purposively because they have lyrical content that are relevant to the study. The lyrics were obtained from www.azlyrics.com and were checked for correctness. The songs were transcribed and an interpretation of the songs are provided. The texts were then coded to identify misogynistic themes. During the coding, careful attention was paid to the context in which specific terms were used. Ideology embedded in the texts and the

representation of social actors were examined from Fairclough's (1989) and Mill's (1998) models of Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA).

5. Data analysis

The choice of vocabulary in the song-text represents ideological stances. One can analyse the participants' choice of vocabulary in relation to their experiential, relational and expressive value of words, with these choices encoding assumption about women being debased. The artistes represent the society by the experiential value of words. Excerpts from songs by Olamide and Lil Kesh project lexical choices appear misogynistic in nature. The stereotypes found in the lyrics of Olamide and Lil Kesh, which have overlapping features, are the following: representation of women as sex objects, the image of women as a passive object, the ideal of domesticity, the stereotype of the liberated women and, legitimating violence.

5.1 Women as sex objects

Sexual objectification refers to the ideal that women are good only for sex. Nigerian hip-hop musicians often through their lyrics brazenly engage in pornographic use of woman's body. A high number of lyrics from Olamide and Lil Kesh are based on the idea of the woman as a sexual object, who must transform herself in order to appeal to men. Women are not presented as being beautiful and intelligent, but as having to become beautiful for men.

Excerpt 1:

Translation

She say for dollars
I would ride and die for you
because of dollar
I ko e je and gbon e mu
because of dollars
I would fall for you
because of dollars
because of dollars
So I say

She said for dollars
I would ride and die for you
because of dollars
I am rushing you
because of dollars
I would fall for you
because of dollars
because of dollars
because of dollars
So I say

(Lil Kesh, "Kojo")

The artiste portrays the woman being depicted in the excerpt above as manipulative, exploitive and greedy. She is ideationally positioned as an agent of prostitution, acting intentionally on the man, who is cast as the goal of her negative material actions, to manipulate, and extort him (Lil Kesh). The material clause *I would ride for you and die for you because of dollar* is a naming strategy aimed at negative representation. It is a negative material process which encodes that the woman is a sex worker, hence the pejorative naming of prostitution. The lexical choice *ride* can be inferred as an act of lovemaking.

Excerpt 2:

Translation

Heh ni'bo ló nlo? *Baby bọ ibe*
Your *bum bum* bigger than *Bombay*

Hey where are you going? *Baby come here!*
Your *buttocks* are bigger than *Bombay*.

Mo ti sọ fun e ko ye ma tele Tobey I have told you to *dating* Tobey.

(Olamide, “Owo Blow”)

In the excerpt above, the underlined words signify dominance, sexism, and victimisation. The artiste uses the rhetorical question, *where are you going?* Which is interpersonally a reprimand, to infringe on personal space of the woman to stay back. It also presupposes the masculinity of the artiste. The text characterises *Baby come here!* to be dominating, and embarrassing. The artiste (Olamide) feels he is in a higher position and can control the woman in question. Other than calling a woman a girl, the use of the noun *Baby*, is widely used to describe a woman. The term ‘baby’ as defined in Oxford dictionary means an infant or toddler. But in this context, the term is used to refer to the woman character in the lyrics. From this context, one can see that the noun *baby* is used as an endearment for a woman. The artiste considers the woman a toddler, an infant that is incapable of independent thought and needs to be guided.

The word *bum bum* is from Nigerian Pidgin meaning “*buttocks*” and the artiste has compared them to a city in India formerly called Bombay but now called Mumbai. The population of the city is estimated to be over 18 million. One of the important features of the city is that all the tribes in Indian have their roots from it. To say that the *bum bum* of the woman the artiste is addressing is bigger than *Bombay*, is to claim that the woman can accommodate sexual intercourse from as many possible men irrespective of class, age and tribes in Nigeria.

Excerpt 3

Bend it over, burst it open for me, bend it over,
burst it open for me, eh
Bend it over, burst it open for me, burst it open for me
Oya burst it open for me, hmnn

(Olamide, “Bend it Over”)

Olamide in the excerpt above blatantly exhibits his masculinity not considering the emotions of the woman in question. An attitude of sexual conquest of women is presented in the above excerpt whereby the artiste repeatedly uses the lexical choices *Bend it over, burst it open for me* to present his sexual needs. The artistes paints a picture that is suggestive of a woman being persuaded for a round of hot sex. It can also be said that the lexical items describe a woman who is abused sexually and portrayed as a usable and discardable. This reflects the societal ideology where women are often marginalised, trivialised and presented as mere toys.

5.2 Female stereotypes

Excerpt 4

Ahh, oh baby, ki lo Sele Gan Gan?
A ti ba e wi, ba e so, o ko, o fe gbo oh
Come here, what is wronging you?
Say ‘yes’, make I use money to spoiling you
And, all these other girls no reach, won de silly

Translation

Ah oh baby, what exactly is going on?
We have persuaded you, but you refuse to
Come here! What is wrong with you?
Say yes, so that I can spend on you
You are different from others

You're so real, but them fake like a silicon
See, if I break your heart, ki n kan!

You are real while they are fake
Let me break if I break your heart

(Lil Kesh, "Love Story")

This excerpt uses both relational and material processes to emphasise the cultural belief about what it means to be male or female and the roles ascribed to each of them. The relational clause *come here what is wronging you* (come here what is wrong with you), emphasises the physical potency of the masculine gender, contrasting it with the weakness of the feminine gender. The lexical choices *Say YES, make I use money to spoiling you* linguistically constructs the woman as a gold digger. Lil Kesh confirms the stereotypical notion that women associate money with love by further implying women's social dependence on men. These material processes also play an important role in reinforcing and reproducing the dominant ideology which accords men such attributes as strong, competitive, risk-taker and confrontational. Another excerpt below from *Pepper Dem Gang* by Olamide presents a stereotype that associates women with money.

Excerpt 5

Translation

Throw money in the sky biti Abiola
Fine girl, don't worry about dollar
You know that we've been there
You know we done that
A le fun won Rolls-Royce to ba d'olaaaa!

Throw money in the sky like
Fine girl do not worry about dollar
You know we have been there
You know we have done that
We can give them Rolls-Royce tomorrow

(Olamide, "Pepper Dem Gang")

From the excerpt above, the artiste as the actor addresses 'a girl', the agent, and the only means through which the girl is being persuaded is with the noun *money*. The personified object builds up with the metaphorical *fine girl*, which represents the female gender. This is an indexical reference to the fact that females are all lovers of *money*. The artiste even goes further to make a reference to foreign currency like *dollar* and expensive car Rolls-Royce to depict that women are materialistic in nature. Another example of stereotypical misogynistic expressions that present women as money lovers is in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 6

Translation

Dollar la wa na o jere a o kin na cedes
Tele she just dey package
Tele tele she just dey form abi
Wen she see my pocket
She just dey dance
She no wan stop

We spend dollars and not cedes
She was pretending to be so
Initially, she was feigning disinterest
When she saw my pocket
She began to dance
And did not stop

(Lil Kesh, "Gbese")

The excerpt above also expresses the ideological perception that views women as money-lovers. Here, the woman is seen as prone to entrap and exploit him. For instance, the underlined expressions: *when she see my pocket*; *she just dey dance*; *she no wan stop*. These expressions indicate that the woman in question gave him audience based on his huge financial status and not

because she is in love with him. The artistes paints a picture of women as those who sell their bodies for financial gains.

Excerpt 7

Translation

Story yi tife ma long, ma se bayi now	This story is becoming too long
Igba wolode tofe ma lo, mase bayi now	you came late and you are leaving so soon
Won roko, won roko tasi wole	
Oju re lomase, wa r'awon mo tama si lole	You will see the sophisticated girls that'll we'll take home with us
Won fowo pa o lara, oun dun meeeoowww!	I am caressing you and you are meowing
S'ologbo ni o ni?	Are you a cat?
osi wan womi loju	And you are looking into my eyes

(Olamide, "Durosoke")

Olamide in the excerpt above from *Durosoke* acts out the dominant male enticement of women that seems natural way of luring women which can be said to be a stereotype that is acceptable in the society. In this case, the woman's body becomes a 'performance site', objects of attainment, desire and pleasure for men. For instance, *won fo wo pa o lara ondun meeeoowww we are caressing you and you are making a crying sound of a cat* convey a contradictory message to the woman, which implies that social validation comes from sexuality and then holding her in contempt for behaving sexually.

5.3 Women as passive objects

It has been found that while there is a tendency to represent men as agents of processes, women tend to be represented in relation to states. The passive status of women is seen in the following excerpt

Excerpt 8

Translation

No designer, no Dolce, no Gabbana	No designer, no Dolce, and no Gabbana
We are not hungry jor	We are not hungry they say
Keep your banana	Keep your banana
Oni ion do local boys maybe Canada	I do not do local boys maybe Canada
And I don't talk to boys that don't have nada	And I do not talk to boy who have nothing
Oshe ko si suit pelu Ankara	Why did you were suit and Ankara

(Lil Kesh, "No Fake Love")

In excerpt 9, the artiste intentionally makes use of passive constructions to avoid the agent. In passive constructions, the agent is usually omitted to avoid redundancy; but it also could be for ideological reasons. Fairclough (1989) says omission of agents may be ideologically motivated in order to make it difficult to understand casualty and therefore understand responsibility. In the expression *No designer, no Dolce, no Gabbana*, the agent has been avoided but can be inferred to be a woman who likes rich men who can give her materials things. It can be argued that, the artiste uses the underlined words; *Keep your banana*, metaphorically to conform to the

traditional stereotype that some women do their utmost (including objectifying their bodies) as means to an end. The use of the pronoun “we” by the artiste does not only categorizes a woman, but by extension to the feminine gender, in the class of people who are dependent and, who exchange their bodies for money. The lexical choices used by the artiste depict that women are frequently encouraged to use sex as a tool, and their bodies as ways of getting material things from men.

*Excerpt 9**Translation*

Ni bo lon lo? Enini
Me I want to feel that *menini*
Gbe sun mo mi, baby I'm needy
Mo le gb'ori le bi ti Finidi
And I'm not even kidding

Where are you going?
I want to feel that *menini*
Bring it closer, I am in need of it
I can bring my head in like Finidi
And I am not even kidding

The active voice is associated with the artiste, in the excerpt above using the action verb *want*. The artiste using this transitivity verb passes an idea of being in charge. The woman on the other hand is presented as a passive object of male consumption. The expression *Gbe sun mo mi, baby I'm needy* (Bring it closer, I need ‘it’- it being sex) depicts the artiste in transitivity terms in an agentive position as a Behaver while the woman is depicted as the target or the victim. She is presented as passive, docile, inert, acted upon as if she is a lifeless matter.

5.4 Legitimizing violence and aggression

Violence is portrayed in these songs as the most appropriate response to women who act disrespectfully toward men, and to women who do not want to yield to their sexual advances. In the excerpts below, the artistes use lexical items to boost their ego on sex acts that appear to harm women, justify other acts of violence, warn women who challenge male domination that they will be assaulted. Violence is portrayed as the most appropriate response to women who violate gendered etiquette or who do not know their place as prescribed by the male-dominated society. These lexical choices appear to be the normalisation of violence against women as a means of social control.

*Excerpt 10**Translation*

Wo me I can't lie, me I don jogodo
Ban wa omo to n'idi to robobobo
Wo me I can't lie, me I don jogodo
Ma run e je bi kokoro
Omo yi ba bend down lo select
Nkan Thomos ba erect
Oloun to be sincere
Shey lo wun mi kin invent

See I can't lie, I am drunk
Get me a woman whose buttocks is soft
See I can't lie, I am drunk
I will crunch you like chips
Hey woman, bend down to select
Thomas has got an erection
God to be sincere
I feel like inventing

(Lil Kesh, “Bend Down Select”)

In the above, the word *kokoro* functions as a self-created lexical item introducing an aggressive sexual desire by the artiste. The word, which originally means chips in Yoruba, is portrayed as

the act of love-making in this song. The artiste vaguely describes the way he intends to sleep with the woman whose story is being narrated in the lyrics. This way of requesting for an intimacy with a woman is of the audacious type. In other words, as he thinks he admires the beauty of the woman, he is also performing his desire to sexually objectify her through his allusion to *kokoro* (chips). The choice of words in the above excerpt can be said to be possessive relational clause I feel like inventing. This choice of possessive relational process grammatically ascribes him some power through ownership whereby relegating the woman to a less powerful position.

Excerpt 11

Translation

Oya sun mo bi, ma slow
Ma lo ma slow
O girl, there is something about you
And you know
Say me no dey doubt you...ah
But if I catch you,
Ma je e bi cashew

Come closer, do not be sluggish
Do not be slow
Oh girl, there is something about you
And you know
that I don't doubt you...ah
But if I catch you
I will eat you like cashew

(Olamide, "Pepper Dem Gang")

In excerpt 11, the material processes; *catch* and *je* (eat) portrays Olamide who is the agent/actor as being aggressive. The choice of the transitivity material processes constructs the artiste as being violent verbally. The woman, who is the goal, is being objectified by the actor (Olamide). The choice of the material processes *oya sun mo bi ma lo slow* (come here! Do not be sluggish) expresses capacity and dominance over the woman. From the above excerpt, it can be inferred that the artiste believes that he has every right over the woman's body and can do with it whatever he wishes even if it is through violence. The above song-text can be said to be aggressive, sexualised, and misogynistic. Women are frequently objectified, that is, seen as bodies that perform tasks rather than as people. For Olamide, women are possessions that can be owned, bought or sold.

Excerpt 12

Translation

If u do Brazilian or you do shuku
L'ale yi, ma kanra mo e bi luku
e oya gba mukutu mukutu
Ba mi wa omo to ni di to ro
bi ti fuku

Whether you are wearing Brazilian hair or *shuku*
this night, I will vent my anger like Luku
Dance round
And find me a woman whose buttocks are soft
Just like cattle offal (lungs)

(Lil Kesh, "Gbese")

In the excerpt above, it is notable that a woman is presented and portrayed as a goal of the material processes *la le yi ma kanra mo e bi luku* (this night, I will vent my anger like Luku). Through his verbiage *vent*, an aggressive way through which he wants to have sex with the woman is expressed.

Excerpt 13

Flip this thick thing, twerk for Daddy
 Break it down; it's unbreakable, and you know that my kiki is capable
 I've been to South Africa, Kampala, to Lagos, Accra, and Manchester
 And I've seen a lot of girls, but none like you
 This your beauty, make me to act the fool

(Lil Kesh, "Love Story")

While trying to imitate American rappers, Lil Kesh in the above excerpt indulge in textual violence on the woman in question. For instance, *flip this thick thing, twerk for daddy break it down, it's unbreakable and you know that my kiki is capable*. Lil Kesh blares in "Love Story" so as to sound more hardcore in a bid to align with some American hip-hop artistes and to demonstrate that he is up to date with current trends, while hoping to encourage sales. Lil Kesh sexually assaults a woman as he subdues her by saying *-flip this thick thing, twerk for daddy*.

5.5 Figurative expressions and rhetorical techniques as ideological tools

Figurative expressions are expressions that differ from the customary everyday conversational use of such expressions for the purpose of giving them a different meaning entirely. In this study, it was observed that the hip-hop artistes use figurative expressions to project misogyny in their lyrics. The figures of speech foregrounded in the course of this study are metaphor and hyperbole. A metaphor, in the context of Critical Discourse Analysis, can belong to a variety of life experiences. It is not restricted to the kind of metaphor in poetry and literature. In general, metaphors are used to represent an incident using terms that belong to another area, and it is, according to Fairclough, especially interesting when it is possible to choose between alternative metaphors, since the ideological attachments of a particular text becomes even more evident when a particular metaphor has been chosen instead of another (Fairclough, 1998 p.119). Olamide and Lil Kesh make use of figurative expressions and rhetorical techniques to express misogynistic ideas in their lyrics. Examples of such can be seen in the excerpts below:

Excerpt 14

Translation

Baby, bo ibi
 Your bum-bum bigger than Bombay
 Mo ti so fun e, k'o ye ma tele Tobe

Baby, come here
 Your buttocks is bigger than Bombay
 I have you not to follow Tobe

(Olamide, "Owo Blow")

Hyperbole is one of the peculiar features found in the above excerpt. It is a figure of speech used to exaggerate objects or event. It ascribes unimaginable quality that a person, an object or event, ordinarily, would not have had. The expression *your bum-bum is bigger than Bombay* (your buttocks are bigger than Bombay) is an exaggeration of the woman's buttocks which can be said to be derogatory and misogynistic.

Excerpt 15

Translation

Mosunmola, s'omo lollypop la
 Oun tuda, oun tu re, oya ola
 Kilo se ena, yema fimi pop collar

Mosunmola, do you take lollypop?
 Where is it? This is it, taste it
 What is it? Do not use me to pop collar

Ofe ma paja lobo funmi,
Se mo kola?

You don't want to straightforward,
Do I look like a fool?

(Olamide, "Durosoke")

Lollypop in the excerpt above is metaphorically used to imply the male organ. The artiste derogatorily calling out the woman to perform an oral sex. He used the rhetorical question *Mosunmola, s'omo lollypop la* (*Mosunmola, do you take lollypop?*) metaphorically to woo the woman. Another example of a metaphorical expression can be found in the excerpt below.

Excerpt 16

Translation

What? No 1 nobody badder badder
Oya, fisi, no wahala hala, anytime you wanna do
that silly panapana

what? No one is better
you can put it, anytime you want
to do that silly panapana

(Olamide, "Bend It Over")

Olamide in the above excerpt expresses a negative representation of woman. He interchanged and compared sex to *silly panapana*. He metaphorically presented the woman as a sex worker/prostitute which is derogatory and demeaning.

5.6 Valuing women based on their appearance rather than their intelligence or personality

Taking elements from Mills' model of CDA, the following were discovered from the artistes language-use in the song-texts.

Excerpt 17

Translation

She carry front, she carry back
She too package, can't leave her

She has big boobs, and she has big buttocks
she is endowed and I can't leave her

(Olamide, "Stupid Love")

Olamide in the excerpt above degrades a woman, by saying "she carry front, she carry back" in this song-text. This clearly requires no context. Thinking that the woman is only qualified to be his lover just because she is well endowed enough is sexist. Accordingly, he resorts to the semantic strategy of presupposition and implication to present his innuendo. Here, Olamide's comment about how the woman in question is physically is the only reason why he is in love with her, and also the reason why he would not leave her. Again, Olamide's evaluation of women depends on their beauty rather than their intelligence, success, and essence.

5.7 The male gender as the norm

Excerpt 18

Translation

Kilon shey e, se n'lo gbeni wa ni
All the girls show me love, so tell me why me
In Malaysia, loun loun, won wa mi

What is wrong with you, should I bring mat
All the girls show me love
So tell me why me, even in Malaysia

Won fun mi ni shi, omo ma lo wa mi

They want me.

(Olamide, “Stupid Love”)

Olamide believes that he can get any woman of his choice mainly because of his status. He describes himself as a man wanted by all women. The inappropriate use of identity markers or derogatory language may cause irritation or anger of feeling of inferiority. It is clear in the detailed description of the woman in question in the above excerpt that the man (Olamide) is looking down on her while raising himself in a higher rank of respect and self-esteem. hyper-masculinise himself. Misogyny can be expressed in gender-specific pejorative terms, i.e. with negative gender- oriented implication to portray women in submissive roles, dehumanized sexual objects, thing or commodity this can be seen in Olamide’s song text saying *kilon se e, sen’nlo gbeni wa ni* (what is wrong with you, should I bring a mat). This expression above can be said to be misogynistic.

5.8 Women as inanimate objects

Excerpt 19

Translation

Oya, ka jo ma jo, like D’pizzle
mo ti mu Alomo yo
Oya sun mo bi, ma lo ma slow, ma lo ma
O girl, there's something about you,
And you know say me no dey doubt you
But if I catch you, ma je'se bi cashew

Now, let us dance, like D’pizzle
I am high on Alomo gin
slow come closer do not be slow,
oh girl, there is something about you
You know I do not doubt you
but if I catch you, I will eat like cashew

(Olamide, “Stupid Love”)

Olamide compares women to inanimate objects such as a fruit that can be eaten. By such an equation, he looks disgustedly at women. This attitude is really disincere and disingenuous to humanity, i.e. the treatment of a person as if they are silent, lacking the capacity to speak. It seems as if he implies that women have no feelings; they are objects with colourless feelings. Valuing women based on their appearance rather than their intelligence or personality.

Excerpt 20

Translation

Have been seeing this girl for Quilox
I like her front and I no go pass u

I have been seeing this girl at Quilox
(*Quilox is a popular bar/club in Lagos*)
I like her front and I will not pass you by

(Lil Kesh, “Gbese”)

Lil Kesh sizes up a woman as if she is a slab of meat existing only for male consumption. Lil Kesh reduces the woman's worth to her physical beauty and perceived physical desirability. This indicates absolute disregard for women as objects for carnal gratification. In other words, he likes women for their sexuality and his excessive sexuality robs women from being objects of love and respect. Objectification in social philosophy is the act of treating a person as an object or thing. It condones the idea that the objectifier treats the object as interchangeable with other objects with the same type and/or with objects of other types or as lacking in agency and perhaps in activity (Nussbaum 2013). Lil Kesh in his songs presents a woman as a sex object who does

not get tired of sex by saying “she no dey tire”. He also likens the woman to a mere tire that rolls in the course of their lovemaking.

5.9 *Semantic derogation/disparagement of women*

Excerpt 21

Translation

Skibo, waa. Aunty Sidi, what wrong with you?
Ah de ba yin soro lataro ede sha ko,

Skibo, come. Aunty Sidi, what is wrong?
I’m conversing with you and you are giving
me attitude

(Lil Kesh, “Gbese”)

It is argued that misogynistic jokes can be a form of sexual objectification when the subject of the joke is reduced to an object. Such jokes not only objectify women but can also condone violence and prejudice against women. A joke can trivialise sexual discrimination under the veil of being amusing.

6. Discussion and Conclusion

The study revealed that ideology is deployed as a strategy of negative representation by using lexical items that enact negative expressive values. Olamide and Lil Kesh used different lexical items that usually degrade women. This can be viewed as a means of constructing gender dominance through language. Song-texts of these artistes are characterised by linguistic choices that project women as inferior, and reinforce their subordinate position in the Nigerian society. The material processes for instance, cast women as sex objects, expletives, and as weaker beings. Interrogation of transitivity patterns also revealed that women are represented as carriers of attributes depicting them as devoid of physical strength, a representation that forms a basis for their discrimination in tasks that require physical strength. Further, the transitivity patterns emphasize the objectified identity of women. Her beauty and body parts are topicalised.

The research also revealed the use of rhetorical strategies and figurative expressions which carry ideological colourations in the song-texts. The artistes used the rhetorical strategies such as metaphor and hyperbole to construct women as objects of male gaze. Metaphors are used in the lyrics to talk about women’s physical attributes and attitude. Female stereotypes illustrated in the selected songs perpetuate the ideas that construct women as distinct social group whose world is dependent on that of men.

Misogyny exists in the lyrics of Nigerian hip-hop music. Much of the mainstream hip-hop music in Nigeria has been reduced to a never-ending obsession with women. This is a reflection of the social structure in the larger society. It is increasingly evident that hip-hop music’s stereotypes about women contribute significantly to the way women are viewed in the society. This has been reinforced by the influence of American popular music on Nigerian music scene. Generic masculine words are the most commonly used forms of stereotypical misogynistic expressions in Nigerian hip-hop sector. Even though women have historically been marginalised, the contemporary popular music scene presents a new dimension to this. It encourages sexual conquest, sexual objectification, sexual assault and negative impression and these should be strongly discouraged.

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On Belief Reports in *Bangla*

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ABSTRACT

This paper studies various belief predicates in Bangla. In analyzing belief predicates in general, the Hintikka universal quantification over doxastic worlds is executed in literature. But, this might not be true across the board. The variations in strength that Bangla belief predicates show cannot be taken care of only by the universal quantification over worlds. Following Hegarty (2011), we show that a generalized quantifier approach becomes rather useful in analyzing the Bangla belief predicates with respect to a scale of certainty. The paper also zooms in on two kinds of reading that Bangla belief predicates exhibit. These two kinds are - a bare reading and an eventive reading (see Hegarty 2011). We extend this discussion of these two reading types to address the famous parenthetical vs. non-parenthetical distinction (Simons 2007, Jary 2010) of belief predicates. Our paper shows that the former, i.e. the bare/event-less reading can correspond to the parenthetical type, while the latter, i.e. the eventive reading can associate itself to the non-parenthetical kind.

1. Introduction

This paper deals with various sorts of belief reports in Bangla (*aka* Bengali). In this paper, we primarily address two issues concerning Bangla belief predicates. At the very beginning, we explore if the standard Hintikka treatment of universal quantification over possible worlds can be applied across the board to all sorts of attitude verbs that express beliefs in Bangla (à la Hegarty 2011). More specifically, we put our view on Bangla belief predicates to check if all of them bear the same status with respect to expressing certainty toward their complement clauses. Intriguingly, we come up with an observation whereby Bangla has different belief reports that are more or less hierarchically arranged on a scale of strength. Let's witness the following Bangla data.

- (1) amar mon-e hOY je Rahul khun-Ta kOr-e ni.
I.GEN mind-LOC happen.PRS.3 that Rahul murder-CLF do-3 PRF/PST/NEG
kintu, ke jane abar kor-e-o thak-te par-e.
but who knows PRT do-3- O stay-INF can-PRS.3
'I suspect/it seems to me that Rahul didn't commit the murder. But, who knows,
he might also do that.

- (2) ami biSSaS kor-i je Rahul khun-Ta kOr-e ni.

I belief do-PRS.1 that Rahul murder-CLF do-3 PRF/PST/NEG
 ??kintu, ke jane abar kor-e-o thak-te par-e.

but, who knows PRT do-3- O stay-INF can-PRS.3

Lit. 'I believe that Rahul didn't commit the murder. ??But, who knows, he might also do that.

The above instances show a contrast between *mone hO-* 'seem/suspect/doubt' and *biSSaS kOr-* 'believe'. In the former case, the speaker may utter *mone hOWa* even when expressing doubt at the same time. The *but*-extension to (1) shows that. By contrast, while uttering *biSSaS kOra*, the speaker is somehow certain about what she is going to claim. That is why the doubtful extension like the former cannot be compatible with (2). This suggests that these two predicates, though being belief reports, differ from each other with respect to the certainty level of the attitude holder. We explore other instances also in this paper to see the variety of strength that all Bangla belief reports exhibit.

As mentioned in Hegarty (2011), Katz (2000, 2003, 2008) analyzed doxastic verbs, like other statives, as simple belief ascriptions over worlds, i.e. worlds belonging to the set of doxastic alternatives of the attitude holder. Katz argued that the interpretation of a stative sentence can be taken care of without considering any Davidsonian event argument in that concerned structures. If the Katzian account is followed in analyzing belief reports, we will end up with analyzing them with no reference to eventualities (both events and states). But, this way of analysis is not totally feasible while considering *non-parenthetical* use (see Simons 2007, Jary 2010 a.m.o.) of belief sentences. This is the second issue that our paper is concerned about. Let's consider the following Question under Discussion (henceforth, QUD) (see Roberts 1996).

- (3) *Background scenario: Rahul, Anu, Mina and Sam are friends. All of them except Rahul have invited Anu to their place. Under this circumstance, Sam asked Mina the following question.*

QUD: **Rahul** Anu-ke Ekhono Dak-e ni kEno?
 Rahul Anu-ACC yet call-3 PRF/PST/NEG why
 'Why hadn't Rahul invite Anu yet?'

Mina: karon, Rahul-er **mon-e hOY** je Anu aS-b-e
 because, Rahul-GEN mind-LOC happen.PRS.3 that Anu come-FUT-3
 na.
 NEG
 'Because, **Rahul suspects** that Anu won't come.'

The above example of a question-answer sequence exhibits a non-optional use of *mone hO-* 'suspect' where the mental state of the attitude holder, i.e. Rahul here gets priority in the context in concern. Since Rahul suspects this way, he has not call Anu yet.

This non-parenthetical use of belief reports provides us the foothold to claim that event arguments can sometimes be necessary to account for this above-mentioned belief expressing verb in Bangla (cf. Hegarty 2011). The event-centric analysis for attitude verbs is pioneered in Hacquard (2006, 2010).

The next section deals with the empirical landscapes that show us that not every belief predicates in Bangla are not of same status in terms of their strength. It mainly consists of the requisite data which help us understand the variety of strength associated with the concerned belief reports. Section 3 offers an analysis that can account for this observation. Section 4 discusses the parenthetical and non-parenthetical division that Bangla belief predicates show, and we advance that the former corresponds to the event-less description of these predicates and the latter corresponds to the analysis of belief verbs considering event arguments in structures in concern. Lastly, Section 5 concludes.

2. Variation in Strength: Bangla Belief Predicates in Focus

As propounded in Hintikka (1969), all the attitude verbs involve universal quantification over worlds. Belief ascription over a clause holds in an evaluative world if and only if that clause holds true in all the doxastic alternatives of the attitude holder whose belief is under consideration. Doxastic alternatives of an individual x in a world of evaluation w denote the set of worlds where all what x believes in w hold true. Thus, a universal quantification over the doxastic worlds is proposed in Hintikka (1969). Following the standard Hintikkan semantics of attitude verbs, the first sentences of both (1) and (2) will be true in w iff the following holds.

- (4) $\forall w' \in \text{Dox}_{sp,w} : [[\text{Rahul didn't commit the murder}]]^{w'} = 1$, where sp stands for the speaker.

But, there are various Bangla belief predicates that differ from each other in terms of the extent to which the attitude holder is certain about his/her belief. (1), (2) provide such a foothold for this claim. Thus, both *biSSaS kOr-* ‘believe’ and *mone hO-* ‘seem/suspect’ cannot be taken care of with the universal quantification only. The following subsection provides other empirical validations to claim the same in Bangla.

2.1 Detailed Empirical Footholds

Bangla has a number of predicates that are used to express beliefs in conversation. Along with the previous instances, we get other belief expressing predicates like *niScit* ‘be sure’, *bhab-* ‘imagine’ etc. But, we advance that not all the predicates are equally strong with respect to the level of certainty. It is previously shown in Section 1 that *biSSaS kOr-* is stronger than *mone hO-*. Another test can be undertaken to claim the same where a weaker claim can be followed by a stronger one, but not vice versa. Let’s consider the following.

- (5) amar mon-e hOY je Rahul khun-Ta kOr-e ni.
 I.GEN mind-LOC happen.PRS.3 that Rahul murder-CLF do-3 PRF/PST/NEG
 Sotti bolte, ami eTai biSSaS kor-i.
 In fact, I this belief do-PRS.1
 ‘It seems to me that Rahul didn’t commit the murder. In fact, I believe this.
- (6) ami biSSaS kor-i je Rahul khun-Ta kOr-e ni.
 I belief do-PRS.1 that Rahul murder-CLF do-3 PRF/PST/NEG
 #Sotti bolte, amar eTai mone hOY.
 In fact, I.GEN this mind.LOC happen.PRS.3
 ‘I believe that Rahul didn’t commit the murder. #In fact, it seems to me so.

In (5) the belief statement is getting stronger from doubt to assertion, whereas (6) goes in opposite direction. That is why the second sentence in (6) seems weird to the native speakers of Bangla. The underlying intuition is – one cannot logically doubt what s/he asserted first, i.e. going stronger to weaker. But, it is quite feasible to assert what is doubted first, i.e. going weaker to stronger. This above test justifies that *mone hO-* is weaker than *biSSaS kOr-*. The former one can be doubtful, while the latter one is more assertive.

We have noticed that (2) denotes such an instantiation, where the probabilistic extension does not become compatible with *biSSaS kOr-* ‘believe’. The same can be noted in case of *niScit* ‘be sure’ as well (7).

- (7) ami niScit je Rahul khun-Ta kOr-e ni.
 I sure that Rahul murder-CLF do-3 PRF/PST/NEG
 #kintu, ke jane abar kor-e-o thak-te par-e.
 but, who knows PRT do-3- O stay-INF can-PRS.3
 Lit. ‘I am sure that Rahul didn’t commit the murder. #But, who knows, he might also do that.’

But, do they belong to the same category in terms of strength in certainty? We object to it advancing that *niScit* is stronger than *biSSaS kOr-* too. The following contrast shows this.

- (8) ami biSSaS kor-i je Rahul khun-Ta kOr-e ni.
 I belief do-PRS.3 that Rahul murder-CLF do-3 PRF/PST/NEG
 Sotti bolte, ami eTa niye niScit.
 In fact, I this about sure
 ‘I believe that Rahul didn’t commit the murder. In fact, I am sure about this.
- (9) ami niScit je Rahul khun-Ta kOr-e ni.
 I sure that Rahul murder-CLF dor-3 PRF/PST/NEG
 #Sotti bolte, ami eTai biSSaS kor-i.
 In fact, I. this belief do-PRS.1

‘I am sure that Rahul didn’t commit the murder. #In fact, I believe this.’

The above patterns in (9), (10) exhibit that one cannot go to belief from a certain, convincing position. But, one can go other way round easily. Thus, what we got so far is – *biSSaS kOr*- kind of stands in a mid-point of a certainty scale. Above that mid-point, *niScit* can be placed and below that placed is *mone hO*-. We are now left with *bhab*- ‘assume/imagine’. This concerned verb also refers to something which is weaker than *biSSaS kOr*-.

- (10) Rahul majhe majhe bhab-ch-e je khun-Ta Anu
 Rahul at times assume-PROG-PRS.3 that murder-CLF Anu
 kor-ech-e, jodio Se Ekhono purupuri biSSaS kor-ch-e na.
 do-PRF-PRS.3 though he yet totally belief do-PROG-PRS.3 NEG
 ‘Rahul at times assumes/imagines that Anu did the murder, though he does not
 yet believe it completely.

The above sentence exhibits a case, where the complement of the verb *bhab*- can be compatible with not believing it completely. Therefore, it can be seen as a weaker form than *biSSaS kOr*-.

What we got so far is a clear observation, where all the belief expressing predicates in Bangla tend to occupy different positions on a certainty scale. At the topmost position, we can place *niScit* ‘be sure’. The mid-point of the scale can be marked with *biSSaS kOr*- ‘believe’. And, below the mid-point, there can be placed *mone hO*- ‘seem/suspect/doubt’, *bhab*- ‘assume/imagine’ etc. that are weakest forms among them.

3. A Semantic Profile of Bangla Belief Predicates on a Scale of Certainty

As we have mentioned that all the above belief predicates are not equally strong, the formulation in (4) cannot be applied to them across the board. In other words, a uniform application of universal quantification cannot help us to account for the differences discussed above. But, will the existential quantification be useful to take care of weaker beliefs then? Following Hegarty (2011), if an existential quantification comes to the scenario, the quantificational force over doxastic alternatives would likely have the modal force of possibility. This type of modal force attests the statement *It is possible that Rahul didn’t commit the murder and it is possible that Rahul did commit the murder*. Therefore, if a quantificational force equivalent to possibility is assigned to *mone hO*-, *bhab*-, then one would expect the following as a semantically well-formed sentence, but which is not so.

- (11) #amar mone hOY je Rahul khun-Ta kOr-e

I.GEN mind.LOC happen.PRS.3 that Rahul murder-CLF do-3
 ni ebON amar mone hOY je Rahul
 PRF/PST/NEG and I.GEN mind.LOC happen.PRS.3 that Rahul
 khun-Ta kor-ech-e.
 murder-CLF do-PRF-PRS.3
 ‘#It seems to me that Rahul didn’t commit the murder and it seems to me
 that Rahul did commit the murder.’

Thus, existential quantification over doxastic alternatives will not help us anyway solve the problem of weaker belief forms. Hegarty (2011) gave a suggestion to treat the quantificational forces over belief worlds as generalized quantifiers to account for the weaker forms of belief reports. In line of this, we state that the strongest belief report *niScit* involves the quantificational force of EVERY on an individual’s doxastic alternatives. Thus, the semantic condition as stated in (4) would be applied to the interpretation of *niScit*. It involves the universal quantification over an agent’s doxastic worlds. Let’s assume, basing on Hegarty (2011), that the quantificational force of *biSSaSkOr-*, just like *believe*, is an analogue to the generalized quantifier MOST. Therefore, the first belief sentence of (2) would be true in w iff the following condition holds.

$$(12) \text{ MOST } w' \in \text{Dox}_{sp,w} : [[\text{Rahul didn't commit the murder}]]^{w'} = 1$$

Now, we need to focus on the weakest forms *mone hO-* ‘suspect/seem/doubt’ and *bhab-* ‘assume/imagine’. Should we view them as the quantificational force of SOME? As SOME is analogous to the force of *might*, and previously we explained why the treatment of possibility cannot solve the problem, we cannot state that the above-mentioned weakest forms of Bangla belief verbs can be taken care of by the force of SOME. Basing on Hegarty (2011), let’s assume that the quantificational force involved in *mone hO-*, *bhab-* is Q.

$$(13) [[\text{mone hO-}]]^w = \lambda p_{st} \lambda x_e. Q \ w' \in \text{Dox}_{x,w} : [[p]]^{w'} = 1$$

Now, the question is what the value of Q should be. Hegarty (2011) mentioned that a negated belief report *I’m not sure that S* gets true iff at least in some belief worlds of the speaker S is not true. Thus, in this case, the classical negation-quantifier interaction is used to employ negation where the generalized quantifier of its positive belief counterpart is converted to its dual. That means the EVERY force on the doxastic worlds of the agent in *I am sure that S* is converted to SOME in *I’m not sure that S*, and $\neg S$ is true in that existentially defined doxastic alternatives. Hegarty (2011) referred to this as Neg-Importation with Dualization (NID). Now, getting back to *mone hO-*, let’s see what its negated form looks like.

(14) amar mone hOY na je tumi amake EkSo Taka
 I.GEN mind.LOC happen.PRS.3 NEG that you I.ACC hundred rupees

dhar dite par-b-e.
 lend give.INF can-FUT-2
 ‘It doesn’t seem to me that you can lend me hundred rupees.’

The above statement looks like a polite version of *I believe that you can’t lend me hundred rupees*. That means (14) will be true iff in most of the doxastic worlds of the speaker the addressee cannot lend her hundred bucks. Formally, the following must hold to get the same true in an evaluative w .

$$(15) \text{ MOST } w' \in \text{Dox}_{sp,w} : [[\text{you can't lend me hundred rupees}]]^{w'} = 1$$

If the statement in (14) gets the truth condition as stated in (15), then, using NID, we can say that the positive counterpart of (14) will be true iff:

$$(16) \text{ MOST}^\perp w' \in \text{Dox}_{sp,w} : [[\text{you can lend me hundred rupees}]]^{w'} = 1$$

MOST^\perp in the above formulation denotes the dual of MOST, and from (13) and (16), we can conclude that MOST^\perp is equivalent to Q, and $Q^\perp = \text{MOST}$ (Hegarty, 2011).

Thus, we have got a generalized quantifier treatment over the set of doxastic alternatives to account for the variations in strength that the Bangla belief reports exhibit. The strongest belief predicate *niScit* ‘be sure’ involves the universal quantification. *biSSaS kOr-* ‘believe’, sitting at the mid-point of the certainty scale, has the quantificational force equivalent to MOST, while *mone hO-* ‘seem/suspect/doubt’, *bhab-* ‘assume/imagine’, being below the mid-point, involve the quantification which is the dual of MOST.

Summing this up:

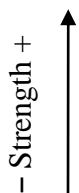
	Bangla belief predicates	Quantificational force over $\text{Dox}_{x,w}$
	<i>niScit</i>	EVERY
	<i>biSSaS kOr-</i>	MOST
	<i>mone hO-, bhab-</i>	MOST^\perp

Table 1: Bangla belief predicates on a scale of strength

4. Parenthetical and Non-parenthetical: Two Readings of Bangla Belief Reports

Since Urmson (1952) until Simons (2007), belief verbs were uniformly viewed within parenthesis. The term ‘parenthetical’ refers to anything optional in structure. That means the one which does not contribute to the main content of the discourse is marked as a

parenthetical item in that structure in concern. Simons (2007) argued that the belief predicates can be used non-parenthetically as well (Simons 2007: (4)).

- (17) A: Why didn't Henry invite Louise to the party?
B: He thinks that she's left town.

The above question-answer discourse delineates a non-parenthetical use of *think*. Simons (2007) in this place advanced that the main clause has the main point status in B's answer to what A has asked. In order to get a clear picture, let's dive into how the main point of an utterance can be diagnosed. Let's consider the following question-answer piece in Bangla.

- (18) A: Anu klas-e aS-e ni kEno?
Anu class-LOC come-3 PRF/PST/NEG why
'Why haven't Anu come to the class?'
B: amar mone hOY je o OSustho.
I.GEN mind.LOC happen.PRS.3 that she ill
'I suspect that she is ill.'

In the above QUD (18), the embedded clause in B's response constitutes the informative part of the answer to the query of A. We will say that *mone hO-* 'suspect/seem/doubt' in this particular QUD has a parenthetical status, i.e. it does not constitute the main point content of the discourse in concern. The parenthetical status of this belief predicate gets its foothold from at-issue semantics (Simons et al. 2010, Tonhauser 2012). This validation for at-issue content draws on Robert's (1996) notion of QUD. In a question-response sequence, those contents, which can address the concerned QUD in a relevant way are claimed to get the at-issue status under some particular context. As per Tonhauser (2012), a natural language utterance can express more than one proposition, and which one among those will turn out to be an at-issue one depends on which can resolve a QUD successfully at a given circumstance. Simons et al. (2010) defined at-issueness in the following way.

(19) **Definition of at-issueness**

- (a) A proposition *p* is at-issue iff the speaker intends to address the QUD via *?p*.
(b) An intention to address the QUD via *?p* is felicitous only if:
(i) *?p* is relevant to QUD, and
(ii) The speaker can reasonably expect the addressee to recognize this intention.

Conforming to this definition in (19), we attempt to explore what the at-issue content is in the QUD (18). The answer of B can denote the following set of propositions.

- (20) $\{p_1: \text{I think something}, p_2: \text{There is some individual called Anu, mutually known to both A and B}, p_3: \text{Anu is ill}\}$

All these three propositions cannot contribute to the main content in discourse. If we construct $?p_1$, i.e. ‘Do you think something?’, it cannot address the question asked by A. So is the case with $?p_2$ also. Both of them cannot resolve the concerned QUD. But, $?p_3$, i.e. ‘Is Anu ill?’ can resolve that, since it partially entails the answer to A. And, it becomes felicitous because it is relevant to that QUD, and the speaker, i.e. B can reasonably expect A to recognize the intention of B. What turns out to be important that in (18) B’s thought does not get prioritized over Anu’s illness. Therefore, the main clause predicate does not make the main point of utterance (MPU) in (18). Rather, it is the embedded clause, i.e. ‘she is ill’ which constitutes the MPU in this QUD in concern. The belief predicate *mone hO-* gets the parenthetical status here, since its complement, but not it, is asserted here (cf. Hooper 1975). In contrary to this, (3) instantiates a case where Rahul’s thought is instrumental in not inviting Anu to his home. This is why *mone hO-* in (3), being asserted, is not a parenthetical one as what is in (18). The same can be extended to other belief predicates in Bangla to show that they can have both a parenthetical and a non-parenthetical status based on the context.

Hegarty (2011) espoused that a belief predicate can be associated with two kinds of reading, i.e. an event-less and an event-centric reading. The former reading is nothing but a bare belief ascription over the doxastic worlds of an experiencer, while, following Hacquard (2006, 2010), the latter involves the importance of event variables corresponding to the mental states. The evidence for the latter can be drawn from the use of anaphoric *that*, which refers to the eventive counterpart of beliefs (Hegarty 2011). Let’s witness the following instance (Hegarty 2011: (26a,b)).

- (21) (a) Alex believes that Mary murdered Bill.
 (b) (i) That began/started last month.
 (ii) That has lasted long enough.
 (iii) The forensic pathologist’s report will put a stop to that.

In (21b) the anaphoric pronoun *that* denotes Alex’s mental state, which makes him believe that it’s Mary who committed the murder. The (i) sentence of (21b) demonstrates that the event of Alex’s believing such way started a month ago. The (ii) part says that this concerned event lasted quite enough; the event of Alex’s believing that Mary did the murder of Bill continued for a long time. And, the sentence in (iii) exemplifies that the forensic report will put an end to the event of his believing so. Thus, what is evident so far is, in all the three cases, Alex’s mental state is the at-issue content. Since Alex’s belief constitutes the main content of discussion, it becomes feasible to think that belief predicates sometimes can have the Davidsonian event arguments. The presence of the

event arguments can also be shown by adverbial modifications to belief predicates (Hegarty 2011: (24a,b,c)).

- (22) (a) Max passionately believes that Mary murdered Bill.
 (b) Max arrogantly believes that he is the greatest novelist alive.
 (c) Max honestly believes that Maria is the best chess player in the world.

In analyzing the above set of sentences, one might think of viewing these adverbials as adjectival qualifications to the experiencer Max. But, one can easily argue that Max can believe something honestly, though not being honest himself at all. Thus, what is reasonable to assume is all these examples in (22a-c) bear some adverbial modifications that qualify the event of Max's belief, not Max himself.

The same observation can be extended to Bangla as well where nominalized anaphoric references can be made to belief events along with adverbial modifications to the same. Let's consider the following.

- (23) (a) Rahul moneprane biSSaS kOr-e je Anu khunTa kor-ech-e.
 Rahul passionately belief do-PRS.3 that Anu murder.CLF do-PRF-PRS.3
 'Rahul passionately believes that Anu did the murder.'
 (b) tar ei biSSaS Onekdin-er.
 he.GEN this belief longtime-GEN
 'This is his long-held belief.'

(23a) shows that an attitude subject's belief can be intensified by adverbials. The intensification works on the event of believing, not on the attitude subject. And, this act of believing can be referred to by the deictic nominal *ei biSSaS* 'this belief'. This nominal correlate lends us the foothold to assume an eventive interpretation of belief. Thus, the belief verb *biSSaS kOr-* 'believe' can either have a bare interpretation as in (12) or an eventive interpretation. Following Hegarty's (2011) treatment, an eventive or a full interpretation of '*biSSaS kOr-(x, p)*' can be said to be true in w iff the following holds.

- (24) $\exists e [[[EXP(x, e)]]^w = 1 \wedge (\forall u: [[EXP(x, e)]]^u = 1) (\text{MOST } v: v \in \text{Dox}_{x,u}): [[p]]^v = 1]$

That is, there is an event e that is experienced by x in the world of evaluation w , and most of the worlds, belonging to x 's doxastic alternatives relative to any possible world u in which he experiences that e , satisfy the proposition p . The trans-world condition is expressed by the universal quantification over u , where the experiencer refers to the same referent as what it does in w . Now, getting back to (23a), the adverbial modification,

namely *moneprane* ‘passionately’ adds another condition to it, i.e. ‘passionately(*r*, *e*)’. But, as Hegarty (2011) mentioned, this condition does not apply across the board to the *e* in all the possible worlds; the adverbial modification holds only in the world of evaluation, we assume. That is why this adverbial modification lies outside the trans-world scope, and the truth condition of (23a) looks like as in what follows.

$$(25) \exists e [[[\text{EXP}(r, e) \wedge \text{moneprane}(r, e)]]^w = 1 \wedge (\forall u: [[\text{EXP}(r, e)]]^u = 1) (\text{MOST } v: v \in \text{Dox}_{r,u}): [[\text{Anu did the murder}]]^v = 1]$$

The adverb *moneprane* associates the experiencer Rahul to his belief state in the world of evaluation. This belief state, in turn, is defined in terms of the cross-world content condition. The same eventive analysis can be extended to other Bangla belief predicates we are dealing with in this paper.

This full interpretation of belief predicates comes to the fore, while dealing with non-parenthetical beliefs as discussed earlier. Recall the example in (3). As evident from that particular QUD, Rahul has not invited Anu yet since it seems to Rahul that she won’t be coming. Thus, Rahul’s mental state gets priority here; it is his belief state due to which he hadn’t invited Anu to his place. This non-optional status of the belief predicate in (3) points to the involvement of an event argument. Hence, the belief predicate *mone ho*-‘seem/suspect’ in Mina’s response supports the Neo-Davidsonian turn, where statives can bear corresponding event arguments. Therefore, the non-parenthetical avatar of belief predicates can be taken care of by an event-centric analysis as made in (24). On the other hand, the parenthetical avatar of the same in (18B) can be addressed by a bare or a minimal interpretation as schematized in (16). Since the event of believing is not-at-issue in a parenthetical interpretation, a bare belief ascription should suffice to account for it.

5. Conclusion

To sum up, this paper focuses on Bangla belief predicates and challenges the uniform Hintikkan analysis for attitude verbs. Basing on Hegarty (2011), this paper proposes a scale for different belief predicates in Bangla. We show that Bangla belief predicates differ from each other with respect to the scale of certainty. In order to account for this variation in strength, a generalized quantifier account is executed for addressing the various quantification over possible worlds.

The next part of this paper deals with two kinds of reading that can be associated to belief predicates. These two kinds of reading are event-less or bare/minimal and eventive or full. We exhibit that these two reading types are useful in accounting for the famous distinction between parenthetical and non-parenthetical beliefs. The bare or event-less analysis accounts for the parenthetical, not-at-issue beliefs, whereas the at-issue or non-

parenthetical belief reports embrace a Neo-Davidsonian standpoint, introducing event arguments despite being statives. The importance of the attitude holder's mental state as the main point of discourse leads us toward this kind of eventive analysis. On the other hand, parenthetical beliefs, being not-at-issue parts of discourse, do not require the involvement of event arguments; they are minimal belief ascription.

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Focus in EkeGusii

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ABSTRACT

This paper deals with how focus, which is mapped to a Focus Phrase (FP), is encoded in simplex EkeGusii declarative sentences. Quantifiers and arguments realized in the subject position seem to be structurally ambiguous between an *in situ* and *ex situ* focus marking, however in this paper the *ex situ* pattern in which all the focused constructions in the Determiner Phrase are moved to the CP, which is a criterial position, is preferred. The main verb and the predicate complements (objects, oblique, adverbials etc.) in EkeGusii are displaced from the complement of the vP position to a FocP in the CP, or to a hijacked/stranded position, a FocP within the IP Phase, immediately before the verb (IBV) position. The focus displacement patterns to the two stipulated positions are monosemous, that is, they receive the same interpretation and obey the principles of focus projection and the minimal link condition by responding to the operation *attract*, with the exception of the *in situ* case of the indirect object, whose movement is blocked by the realization of a focus marked element in IBV position. The *in situ* and the stranded focus pattern exhibit interpretational mismatches.

1. Introduction

Interest in the configuration of word order in contemporary literature led to the postulation of two major word order systems in natural language, namely fixed word orders and free word orders. The patterns of word order in Bantu are assumed to be free, especially as exemplified by the case of Chichewa¹ (Mchombo, 1985). The examination of structural considerations, topic and

¹ The Chichewa language is considered to be a free word order language on the basis of the sentences:

a. Njuchi zi-na-wa-lum-a alenje (svo)

focus, however reveals the fact that the presumed notion of free word orders is not attested across all Bantu languages. An examination of linguistic data drawn from EkeGusii indicates that focus projection is basically induced by semantico-pragmatic interpretations that optionally trigger movement upon the application of focal interpretations.

The EkeGusii language utilizes morphological means to express focus and thus requires a reformulation of the focus rules, or further underspecification in order to expand the empirical coverage of the rules. Once the data is availed, revising the rules may establish it the better by confirming its universal nature. This paper aims at giving an analysis of focus constructions in EkeGusii, an E41 Bantu language spoken in Kenya, with specific reference to the notion of focus. This paper focuses on focus marking in declarative and wh-interrogatives sentences that is realized in situ or that which induces movement whenever an element of the complement is moved out of its verb internal position due to the information structural consideration, focus. The examination of the manner focus marking patterns are distributed in declarative sentences reveal the full range of strategies that the language has in marking focus. It uses some new self-generated (introspective) data by the authour to study the patterns of focussed constructions in EkeGusii which are analysed using insights from the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1993et. Seq.).

2. Preliminaries

The major study of information structure in the EkeGusii is Mecha (2013) which gave analysis of how topic and focus interactions influence the surface structure and the interpretation of informationally structured constructions in dynamic discoursal contexts using a Bidirectional Optimality Theoretic Approach built from three base theories, Minimalist Syntax, the semantics for static sentences based on Venneman (197) and the notions of topic and focus as per Lambrecht's Constructional Theory of (1994). The work focussed on how the syntax of clause interacts with the semantico-pragmatic aspects but did not give the patterns of focus as realized in EkeGusii. Using data recorded from conversation with one speaker of EkeGusii, this paper examines the how focus is encoded in EkeGusii using a Minimalist approach (Chomsky, 1993 et. Seq.) and the semantics are given using Rooth's (1995) Alternative Semantics.

In EkeGusii focus is realized by modulation of pitch, or by the nasal morphemic unit $\{n-\}$ which is typically singular or $\{m-\}$ which is in plural. Focus is realized by modulation of pitch, or by the nasal morphemic unit $\{n-\}$ which is typically singular or $\{m-\}$ which is plural. Most of the

Bees SA-PST-bite-INDIC hunters

"The bees bit the hunters"

- b. Zinawaluma alenje njuchi (VOS)
- c. Alenje zinawaluma njunchi (OVS)
- d. Zinawaluma njuchi alenje (VSO)
- e. Njunchi alenje zinawaluma (SOV)
- f. Alenje njunchi zinawaluma (OSV)

research on focus projection and the generalizations on the construct are based on accentual or stress languages (cf. Selkirk, 1995; Arregi, and Buring, 2006 to mention some). The rule for focus projection by Selkirk (1995: 555) in Buring is given based on English as stated in (1) below:

(1) **Focus Projection** (Buring 2006: 322-323)

Either

(i) F-marking of the head of a phrase licences F-marking of the phrase,

or (or both)

(ii) F-marking of an internal argument of a head licenses the f-marking of the head.

The notion of f-marking in EkeGusii, which is a tone language that marks focus morpho-syntactically, is constrained by a set of rules that is distinct from that of English, a stress language, as we will demonstrate in the analyses in this paper. The focus markers, for instance, surface in neutral focus constructions, which is a curious phenomenon we have not observed in English.

Whereas the f-marking is driven by a revised form that is given by Buring (2006) of the focus projection principle, that accounts how the morphological markers are assigned, the behaviour of displaced elements that is induced by focus marking is accounted for using the Minimal Link Condition (MLC) proposed by Chomsky (1995: 311), which is given in (2) below:

(2) **Minimal Link Condition (MLC)**

K attracts α only if there is no β , β closer to K than α , such that K attracts β .

Hence the movement (internal merge) induced by focus considerations is driven by the attract operation, and may fail if there is an intervenor. The derivation process of the constructions will be based on the suggestions given in Chomsky (2013 and 2015) in which the Merge process driven by the transfer process to the articulatory-perceptual interface is which is separated from the labelling process that is driven by the conceptual-intentional interface. The derivational process assumed in this paper involves a Probe and Goal computational process that involves an elaborate copy and move operation on features during internal merge, that apply cyclically to some of the possible critical positions on their way to their landing sites.

3. Interactions between Wh-questions and Focus

The use of question-answer contexts is the paradigmatic mode of determining the focussed elements in constructions. The question context is realized in two forms: with the wh-question operator in the fronted and stranded positions and the answers can replicate the questions word order or not.

- (3.) Question: *Ni-nki* *O-mo-geni* *a-nyenye-rw-a?*
 FOC-what **AUG-1SG-visitor** **1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV**
 ‘What visitor slaughtered for?’
 O-mo-geni *ni-nki* *a-nyeny-e-rw-a?*

AUG-1SG-visitor FOC-what 1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV

‘ Visitor what slaughtered for?’

- Answer:
- a. *Omo-geni ni-igo a-nyey-e-rw-a e-ngoko.*
1SG-Visitor FOC- PTL 1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV 9SG-hen
 “Visitor was slaughtered for a chicken”
- b. (i.) *E-ngoko Omo-geni a-nyenye-rw-a*
9SG-hen 1SG-Visitor 1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV
 “Chicken visitor was slaughtered for”
- (ii.) *N'-e-ngoko Omo-geni a-nyenye-rw-a.*
FOC-9SG-hen 1SG-Visitor 1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV
 “Chicken visitor was slaughtered for”
- c. (i) *Omo-geni n-'e-ngoko a-nyenye-rw-a.*
1SG-Visitor FOC- 9SG-hen 1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV
 “Chicken visitor was slaughtered for”
- (ii) **Omo-geni ni-igo e-ngoko a-nyenye-rw-a.*
1SG-visitor FOC-PTL 9SG-hen 1SG-slaughter-PASS-FV
 “Visitor was chicken slaughtered for”

The position of the wh-element does not constrain the placement of the morphologically marked focussed arguments in the output, the focused word can be positioned at the front as in 3b(ii) above or after the subject as in 3c(i) above on being displaced from the complement position of the projected construction. However, the symmetry between where the question word and the focus realization position is a tendency (or is accidental) in the language because a number of construction exhibit assymetry as the placement of the question word and the focus position.

The realization of focus has interpretational effects on the answer construction, with the exeption of the neutral focus construction. The meaning of the focussed elements generally have a sense similar to that of the cleft, in that they can be paraphrased as meaning ‘It is *x* that...’. consider the example in (4) below.

(4) Question: *Ni-nki omo-geni a-nyey-e-rwa*

Foc-what 1SG-visitor 1SG-slaughter-APPL-PASS-FV

‘What was slaughtered for the visitor’

Answer: *N-e-ngoko omo-geni a-nyeny-e-rwa*

Foc-9SG-chicken 1SG-visitor 1SG-slaughter-APPL-PASS-FV

‘It is chicken the visitor was slaughtered for’

The focus in the construction in (4)above involves a symmetrical realization of focus in relation to the Wh-question construction, in which both are in Focus Phrase of the sentence initial

Complementizer Phrase (CP) domain of the clause as represented in (4') below. The focussed object is copied in the complement of the v'P and raised to the focP of the CP. The movement does not happen in one step as it is here indicated, but involves successive cyclicity, given that there is a low focus position in the language (but let us reserve the discussion of that till later in the paper). The movement (internal merge) of the focussed constituent is motivated in the conceptual-intentional interface in order to meet the constraint that induces scope shift. Focus induces an interpretational scope shift, in which the focussed sense is interpreted in a sentence initial position. In the case of *in situ* focus, the sense moves covertly but the f-marked lexeme remains in its initial position

(4') [CP[FocP Nengoko [IP [DP omogeni [I' [FocP <nengoko>[v'P anyenyerwa [DP<nengoko>]]]]]]]]

The cleft-like meaning of the focussed phrase in (4') is due to the function of particularization of the answer that is induced by scope shift. The scope shift Condition states that:

(5) **Scope Shift Condition** (see Neeleman & van de Koot, 2012:43)

No node can inherit two scope indices

The *in situ* construction is rendered marked because it violates the scope shift condition. Though, it does carry a focus reading which is given in this work following Rooth (1985, 1992) alternative semantics. In alternative semantics focus is associated with a set of alternative propositions which is included in the focus value of a sentence alongside the focus and the function as rendered in (6) below. In the example (4) above, the focus is the *engoko* 'chicken' and the set of alternatives are the kind of animals one may be regaled with if they paid someone a visit.

(6) < λx [nyenyerwa x omogeni], Engoko, [embata, ekurukuru,>
< λx [slaughter x for visitor], Chicken, [duck, turkey, >

4. Focus Patterns in EkeGusii

In this section we give an overview of focus patterns in EkeGusii. The patterns are examined in relation to whether they are realized *in situ* or *ex situ*. The EkeGusii language exhibits two *ex-situ* focus patterns, and an *in situ* pattern in which the focussed element is not displaced, mostly in the case of focussed quantifier in the subject position, but the quantifiers in the object position induce movement to a higher position in the clause. The language forbids the realization of focus marking on any postverbal constituent, even adverbials. The rest of the elements move out of their canonical position to a higher designated position, either to a sentence initial position or a hijacked or stranded focus preverbal position. Verbal constituents only move to a preverbal position with the exception of the focused particle which marks new information in out-of-the blue contexts. The two patterns of focus movement: fronting of focussed element, which is a species of movement to the left periphery of the clause treated in section (4.2), and stranding/ hijacked pattern, which is a species of an IP- phase internal movement are given in section 4.3.

4.1 *In Situ* Focus Marking in the Complement

The *In Situ* focus pattern is realized by highly marked constructions in EkeGusii in which the focus marker is realized twice in the sentence. For the indirect object to be marked *insitu*, the focus is either the immediately before verb position particle or verb are defocused in the articulatory-perceptual interface and the interpreted focus reading is accorded to the object.

(7) Question: *Ni-ngo o-e-t-e omw-ana ama-beere?*

FOC-who 1SG-give-PST-FV 1SG-child 16PL-milk

‘Who gave the child milk?’

Answer: a. *Omw-aana ni-igo a-e-tw-e ama-beere*

1SG-child FOC-PTL 1SG-give-PST-FV 16PL-milk

n'-omo-reri.

FOC-1SG-maid

‘It is the maid who gave the child milk’

b. *Omw-aana n-a-e-tw-e ama-beere*

1SG-child FOC-1SG-give-PST-FV 16PL-milk

n'-omo-reri.

FOC-1SG-maid

‘It is the maid who gave the child milk’

c. **Omw-aana a-e-tw-e ama-beere n'-omo-reri.*

1SG-child 1SG-give-PST-FV 16PL-milk FOC-1SG-maid

‘It is the maid who gave the child milk’

d. **Omw-aana a-e-tw-e n'-omo-reri ama-beere .*

1SG-child 1SG-give-PST-FV FOC-1SG-maid 16PL-milk

‘It is the maid who gave the child milk’

4.2 The Left Periphery

The notion of displacement, which is prevalent in the Generative tradition due to the assumption of transformational operations, in the derivational process, has been one of the key concerns that were put into question at the onset of the Minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1993). Displacement was initially considered as an imperfection, but with further research in the first decade it was entrenched within the Minimalist as one of the ‘conceptually necessary’ aspects of the derivation processes which is the product of a Copy and Merge operations which are aspects of Internal Merge.

The displacement of the Object in the early phase of developing the minimalist Program (Chomsky, 1993 et.seq.) was considered to be driven driven by a focus feature which necessitates its being internally merged either to sentence initial position with its landing position

being the Specifier of the Complementizer Phrase (Spec-CP). The object can also surface in a preverbal position after the Specifier of the Inflectional Phrase in Past Perfect Aspectual clauses. The merge process in Ekegusii does not exactly occur as assumed for the English language which is used to model the generative enterprise. The movement to the Focus position in the construction only involves some of the features that are realized in the CP phase, hence the construction does not merely consist of a mere replication of the moved element, perhaps that is the reason some theoreticians have re-baptized Internal Merge as Remerge. Consider the derivation of the fronted Focussed object in (8) below. The focus movement to the CP consists to further merge of the object with the Focus and their cyclical displacement to the left-periphery as shown in (8b) below which induces an additional conjunct to the logical form:

- (8) a. *A-ma-ache* *n-a-ma-ange* *twa-taach-et-e* *igoro*

AUG-16PL-water FOC-AUG-NC-lot Bosire 1PL- fetch-PERF-FV yesterday

“It is a lot of water we fetched yesterday”

- b. [CP_{[focP} Amache naamnge [IP [DP twa- [focP ~~amache amange~~ [I' [I_{[v'P} -taachete[DP ~~Amache amange~~ [AdvP [Adv igoro]]]]]]]]]]]

< λ x [Amaache x twataaachete], amange, [amaake, igatwa,]>

< λ x [water x we fetched], much, [little, some (moderate),...]>

- (9.) a. * *N-ama-nge* *ama-che* *Bosire* *a-tach-et-e* *igoro*

Foc-16PL-lot 16PL-water Bosire 1SG-fetch-PERF-FV yesterday

“It is a lot of water Bosire fetched yesterday”

The question as to which landing site a given focussed elements has been rife in Generativist literature, in a bid to resolve the issue whether there are such notions as A(argument) positions, preverbal subjects as arguments (Costa,2004) as opposed to A'-positions. Preverbal subjects as non-argument positions (cf. Ordonez and Trevino, 1999) in the study of Germanic languages. The extended CP is positioned in the left periphery and the focus phrase is one of the functional projections in it as illustrated in (10) below. In EkeGusii there is a low focus position, the stranded focP position, which is a landing position for the neutral focus marked particle *Niigo* as illustrated in (10) below:

- (10) a. *N-iigo* *omw-ana* *a-nywe-et-e* *ama-beere*.

Foc-PTL Child SM-drink-PERF-FV SM-milk

The child drank milk

[CP[FocP Niigo [IP omwana [I' [I_{[v'P} [v anyweete[DP amabeere]]]]]]]]]

- (11.) a. *Omw-ana ni-igo* *a-nywe-et-e* *ama-beere*

1SG-Child FOC-PTL SM-drink-PERF-FV 16PL-milk

‘The Child drank milk’

- b. [CP [IP [DP Omwana [_{FocP} ni-igo [_{I'} [_{v'P} [_{focP} ~~ni-go~~ [v a-nywe-et-e [DP ama-beere]]]]]]]]]

The examination of Bantu languages reveals a more tantalizing phenomena as will be attested by the data.

(12.) **Focus Fronting**

- a. *Ama-beere omwa-ana a-nyw-φ-a.* [Focus by Fronting]
16PL-milk 1 SG-child 1SG-drink-PERF-Fv
 ‘MILK child has drunk.’

- b. *N- 'ama-beere omwa-ana a-nyw-a.* [Focus N-marking + Fronting]
Foc-16Pl-milk 1SG-child 1SG-drink-PERF-Fv
 ‘MILK child has drunk.’

(12') **Syntactic Derivation Process:**

Numeration [OMWANA +N, NYWA +V,+ numb: 2sg, 1 PL....]

- a. [_{v'P} [_{DP} omwana [_v √nywa]]]]
 b. [_{I'} [_I Pres. [_{v'P} [_{DP} omwana [_v √nywa]]]]]
 c. [_{IP}[_{DP} owana [_{v'P} omwana [_v √nywa]]]]]
 d. [_{IP}[_{DP} owana [_{v'P} omwana [_A [v anywa]]]]]]]
 e. [_{IP}[_{DP} owana [_{v'P} omwana [_{AgrSP} a- [_v a-nywa]]]]]]]
 f. [_{IP}[_{DP} owana [_{v'p} omwana [_{AgrSP} a- [_v a-nywa]]]]]]]
 g. [_{IP}[_{DP} owana [_{v'p} omwana [_{AgrSP} a- [_v a-nywa [_{DP} amabeere]]]]]]]
 h. [_{IP}[_{DP} owana [_{v'p} omwana [_{AgrSP} a- [_v a-nywa [_{DP} n-amabeere]]]]]]]
 i. [_{CP} [_{FocP} n-amabeere [_{IP}[_{DP} owana [_{v'p} [_{DP} omwana [_{AgrSP} a- [_v a-nywa [_{DP} n-amabeere]]]]]]]]]
 j. **Spellout:** [_{CP} [_{FocP} namabere [_{IP}[_{DP} omwana [_{I'} [_I Pres. [_{DP} ~~omwana~~ [_{AgrSP} a- [_{v'P} [_{anywa} [_{DP} ~~n-amabeere~~]]]]]]]]]
 k. **A-P:** [_{CP} [_{FocP} namabere [_{IP}[_{DP} omwana [_{I'} [_I Pres. [_{AgrSP} a- [_{v'P} [_{anywa}]]]]]]]]

C-I: It is milk the child drank.

The fronted object in (12) above is base generated and then its copy overtly displaced to the left periphery of the clause to be realized as a focus Phrase in the extended coplimentizer Phrase

‘Every black child...’

- ii. [DP[Det’[QP[Q *kera* [NP *Omwana* [Det⁰ Ø [AdjP *omomwamu*...

The typical projection of the determiner phrase realizes the quantifier on the left of the noun, hence the determiner phrase is head last, with the noun complement preceding the head Det⁰. The noun is then internally merged by its copy being moved from a lower position in the determiner phrase. Given that EkeGusii has no independent morphemes to mark determination, definite or indefinite, lexical forms meant to realize other functions such as demonstratives *oyo* ‘this’, and *ori* ‘that’ are sometimes used as determiners that mark definiteness and specificity. The determiner is then omitted in the surface because it is homophonous with the lexemes which denote other senses like number (e.g. *-mo* ‘one’), ostantiveness (demonstratives e.g. *-ke.*, *-ye/yo* ‘this’), quantity (e.g. *-nge* ‘many,’) The modifiers of noun in the language syncretically realize determiners.

- (15.) a. *O-mw-ana* *n-oyo*

AUG-1SG-child FOC-this

‘A Child is this’

- b. i. [DP [NP [N *omwana* [Det’ [Det⁰ ~~*noyo*~~ [FocP *noyo* [DemP [Dem <~~*noyo*~~> [NP
 <~~*Omwana*~~>]]]]]]]
 ii. [CP [FocP <*noyo*>[DP [NP [N *omwana* [Det’ [Det⁰ ~~*noyo*~~ [DemP [Dem <~~*noyo*~~>
 [NP <~~*Omwana*~~>]]]]]]]

- (16) a. *Oyo n’ o-mwa-na*

This is AUG-1SG-child

“This is a child”

- b. [IP [DP [Pron *Oyo* [Cop *no* [DP *omwana*]]]]]

- (17) a. *N-oyo n’ omwana*

FOC-this is AUG-1SG-child

“Even this is a child”

- b. [CP[FocP *noyo*[IP[DP [Pron ~~*noyo*~~[I’[Cop *no* [DP *omwana*]]]]]]]

The EkeGusii language only licenses one focus projection in sentences. Any movement of the modifier, which may be an adjective or a quantifier is rendered ungrammatical on the surface as illustrated in the sentences in (18) below.

- (18.) a. *N-kera* *o-mw-ana* *o-e-tw-e* *a-ma-beere*

FOC-every AUG-1SG-child SAGR-give-PST-FV AUG-16PL-milk

ama-ange.

16-PL-lot

‘It is every child who was given a lot of milk.’

b. *N-Kera omw-ana o-e-tw-e a-ma-bere

FOC-Every AUG-1SG-child SAGR-give-PST-FV AUG-16PL-milk

n-ama-ange

Foc-16PL-lot

‘Every child was given milk it is alot.’

c. *Kera o-mw-ana o-e-tw-e ama-bere

Every AUG-1SG-child SAGR-give-PST-FV AUG-16PL-milk

n-ama-ange

Foc-16PL-lot

‘Every child was given milk it is alot.’

(18’) [CP [FocP Nkera omwana [IP [DP Nkera Omwana [I’ [v’P oetwe [DP amabeere]]]]]]

The quantified determiners in the subject position in sentences ((18a and c) above are focused *ex situ*, whereas the quantifier in (18b) above in the object position is not moved and that induces the sentence to crash. The sentence in (18b) does not converge at the interfaces due to multiple focus marking. The sentence in (18 a) as illustrated in labelled syntactic projection in (18’) converges when the focussed DP *nkera omwane* ‘every child’ is displaced to FocP in the CP.

4.2.1.2 Focus Marking of Pronouns

Pronouns in EkeGusii are focuss marked morpho-syntacticall as any other lexeme in the language though considered to be topical constructions. In the sentences given below the pronominal in the subject pposition is focussed by enclicizing the focus marker {n-} before the it.

(19) Question: Ni-ngo o-e-t-e omw-ana ama-beere?

FOC-who 1SG-give-PST-FV 1SG-child 16PL-milk

‘Who gave the child milk?’

Answer: a. N-inche n-a-e-t-e omwana ama-beere

Foc-I FOC-1SG-give-PST-FV 1Sg-child 16PL-milk

‘It is I who gave the child milk’

b.	N-aye	n-a-e-t-e	omwana	ama-beere
	Foc-you	FOC-1SG-give-PST-FV	1Sg-child	16PL-milk
	‘It is you who gave the child milk’			

4.2.1.3 Focus of Bare Nominals

All arguments that serve as subjects can be focussed. In Ekegusii The most marked form in the subject position are the personal names which in most languages are focused by some use of high pitch. Ekegusii caequally mark focus by using high pitched phonation on the first syllable (given in capitals of proper names as in (20 a) below. Focus marking on personal names depends on the type of phoneme at the beginning of the word as illustrated in (20) below. Personal proper nouns that begin with the bilabial fricative /b/ are marked with the focus marker /m-/ which is also used in pluralized lexemes whereas /n/ is precliticized before words that begin with the alveolars /t, tj/, the palatals /g, k/, and the the tap /r/ which is substituted with the homo-organic affricate /nd/.

(20.)	Normal form	Morphologically Marked Focussed form	
	<i>Kereera</i>	<i>N-kereera</i>	‘it is Kereera’
	<i>Ragogi</i>	<i>Nd-agogi</i>	‘it is Ragogi’
	<i>Barare</i>	<i>M-barare</i>	‘it is Barare’

The usage of the two forms are equally distinct in spoken discourse, the bare proper name is used to designate and in isolation can be used to call someone, but the focussed form is used in diourse to specify with the reading ‘it is x’.

In EkeGusii, the personal names have two distinct ways in which they can be focussed and moved to the left periphery; by use of pitch (21a.); by overt realization of the focus marking morpheme {n-} before the proper noun as shown in (21b) below in the subject position.

(21.)	Question:	<i>Ni-ngo</i>	<i>o-nyw-a</i>	<i>ama-beere?</i>
		Foc-who	1SG-drink	16PL-milk
		‘Who drank milk?’		
a.	<i>BOsiire</i>	<i>o-nyw-a</i>	<i>ama-beere.</i>	
	Bosiire	1SG-drunk-FV	16PL- milk	
	“It is Bosiire drunk milk ”			
b.	<i>M-bosiire</i>	<i>o-nyw-a</i>	<i>ama-beere.</i>	
	Foc-Bosiire	1SG-drink-FV	16PL-milk.	
	“It is Bosire drank milk ”			

For giving the plural focused collective subject, the language uses the lexical form *mbabo* as given in (22) below.

(22) Question: *M-ba-rabi ba-nyw-a ama-beere?*

Foc-1PL-who 1SG-drink-FV 16PL-milk

‘Who drunk milk?’

a *M-baabo Bosiire ba-nyw-a ama-beere*

Focus-Poss Bosiire 1PL-drink-FV 16PL-milk

‘It is the Bosiire’s drunk milk’

b. *Bosiire M-bara-bwo ba-nyw-a a-ma-beere*

Bosiire Foc-are-PL 1PL-drink-FV AUG-16PL-milk

‘Bosiire are the ones who drunk the milk’

4.2.1.4 Object Preposing

The movement of the object to a sentence initial position in Ekegusii is triggered by the information structural feature, Focus. Consider the sentences in which the movement involves crossing from the IP Phase, considering that a phase in a minimal domain that a moving element can cross, to CP phase, which is in the sentence initial position. Consider the example of object preposing given in (23) below.

(23) a. Question: *Ni-nki omwa-ana a-nywe-et-e?*

Foc-what 1SG-child 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV

‘What did the child drink?’

Answer: (i) *Ama-beere omwa-ana a-nywe-et-e.*

16PL-Milk 1SG-Child 1SG-drink-PST-FV

‘Milk child drank.’

(ii) *N’- ama-beere omwa-ana a-nywe-et-e.*

Foc-16PL-Milk 1SG-Child 1SG-drink-PST-FV

‘It is Milk child drank.’

The movement in sentence which have two objects is similar to the one represented for sentences with only one object as illustrated in (24) below.

(24) Question: *Ni-nki Maria a-e-t-e omw-ana?*

Foc-what Maria 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-child

‘What Maria gave child?’

Answer: (a) *N'-ama-beere Maria a-e-Φ-t-e omw-ana.*

Foc-16PL-milk Maria 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-Child

‘Its milk Maria gave child’

(b) **N'-ama-beere omw-ana Maria a-e-Φ-t-e*

Foc-16PL-milk 1SG-Child Maria 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV

‘Its milk child Maria gave’

(25) Question: *Ni-ngo Maria a-e-Φ-t-e ama-beere?*

Foc-Who Maria 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 16PL-milk

‘who Maria gave milk?’

Answer: (a) *N'-omwa-ana Maria a-e-Φ-t-e ama-beere*

Foc-CL1-Child Mary 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 16PL-Milk

‘Its child Maria gave milk.’

(b) **N'-omwa-ana ama-beere Maria a-e-Φ-t-e*

Foc-1SG-Child 16PL-Milk Mary 1Sg-give-PST-PERF-FV

‘ Its child Milk Maria gave’

In the examples given above, the focus marker is optionally realized on the moved object in the sentence initial position. However, in the contexts of long distance movement, the focus marker is obligatory as illustrated in the sentences given in (26) below.

(26) Question: *Ni-nki e-ra-tooke omo-geni o-och-et-e inka*

Foc-What It-might-be 1SG-guest 1SG-come-Φ-PERF-FV home

Igoro a-nyenye-re-tw-e?

Yesterday 1SG-slaughter-PST-APPL-FV

‘What might it be the visitor who came yesterday was slaughtered for?’

Answer a. *N' - e-ngoko e-raabe omo-geni o-och-et-e*

Foc-9SG-chicken it-might-be 1SG-guest 1SG-come-Φ-PERF-FV

Inka igoro a-nyenye-re-tw-e.

home yesterday 1SG-slaughter-PST-APPL-FV

‘Chicken might be the visitor who came yesterday was slaughtered for’

b. **E-ngoko e-raabe omo-geni o-och-et-e*

9SG-chiken it-might-be 1SG-guest 1Sg-come-Φ-PERF-FV

inka igoro a-nyenye-re-tw-e.

home yesterday 1SG-slaughter-PST-APPL-FV

‘Chicken might be the visitor who came yesterday was slaughtered for’

4.2.1.5 Preposed Adverbials

The temporal element and the locative element can be focussed by being cyclically moved to the sentence initial focus landing site (the left periphery). Consider the sentence in (27) which bears neutral focus and the focussed ones in (28 & 29) below.

(27) *Moraa ni-igo a-ache-t-e sei-to igoro.*

Moraa foc-PTL 1SG-come-PERF-FV home-our yesterday

‘Moraa came to our home’

When the temporal element is focused it is moved to a sentence initial position, whereas the in situ focussed construction crashes.

(28) a. *N'-igoro Moraa a-chich-et-e sei-to.*

Foc-yesterday Moraa 1SG-come-PERF-FV home-our

‘It is yesteray Moraa came to our home’

b. **Moraa ni-igo a-chich-et-e sei-to n'-igoro.*

Moraa foc-PTL 1SG-come-PERF-FV home-our Foc-yesterday

‘It is yesteray Moraa came to our home’

The same behaviour is observed when the locative is focussed.

(29) a. *N-seito Moraa a-chich-et-e igoro.*

Foc-home Moraa 1SG-come-PERF-FV yesterday

‘It is to our home Moraa came yesterday’

- b. **Moraa ni-igo a-chich-et-e n-seito igoro.*

Moraa foc-PTL 1SG-come-PERF-FV Foc-home yesterday

‘It is to our home Moraa came yesterday’

4.3 Focus Hijacking in EkeGusii

The movement of focused elements to a sentence internal position affects every element that occurs in the predicate. The verbal elements, auxiliaries, verbal complements and the verb either move to the focus phrase position below the subject this includes the copying and movement of the focus marker out of the verb phrase to the default focus position. The internal merge of the focused elements involve an intricate process in which the focus particle *Niigo* is deleted and replaced by new focussed element at the A-P interface and assigned the pragmatico- semantic features that render it interpretable at the C-I interface. For example the movement of a constituent.. an argument or adverbial, that occurs from within the complement of the verb in SVO, SVOO, SVA and SVOA constructions does not go all the way to the front of the clause (the preposed CP) but can be stranded within the Inflectional phrase or in what Hyman (2007) dubs the immediately before the verb (IBV) in the Ekegusii language. Consider the construction given in (30) below for which an illustration of the syntactic derivation is given in (30 b).

- (30) a. *Omwa-ana n-’ ama-beere a-nyw-a.*

1SG-child FOC-16Pl-milk 1SG-drink-PERF-FV

‘Child it’s milk has drank’.

b. Syntactic Derivation

Numeration = {omw-, √-ana1 ‘child’, √-nyua 1 ‘drink’, ama- √beere ‘milk’}

- a. Merge: (omwana, nyua) → {nyua {omwana nyua}}
- b. Merge:(o (Agr), omwana nyua) → {nyua {omwana onyua}}
- c. Merge: (omwana onyua, amabeere) → {NYUA {omwana onyua amabeere}}
- d. External Merge: (omwana, omwana onyua amabeere) → {nyua {omwana
omwana onyua amabeere}}
- e. Merge: (n-(FOC), omwana omwana onyua amabeere) → {nyua {omwana
omwana onyua namabeere}}

- f. Internal Merge: (namabeere, omwana omwana onyua naamabere)→
 {nyua{omwana omwana <namabeere>onyua namabeere} }
- g. Internal Merge: (Agr, omwana omwana namabeere onyua naamabere)→
 {nyua{omwana omwana <namabeere> anyua namabeere} }
- h. Spell Out: [IP [DP Omwana[I' [FocP namabeere [v'P anyua]]]]]

It is milk the child drank.

4.3.1 Object Stranding

The arguments that appear as objects of clauses in EkeGusii do exhibit structural ambiguity, that is, they have two landing sites, one within the the IP (which is a form of A-movement), and the other is to the left periphery (an A'-movement). The former aspect is evident in most matrix constructions with an SVO word order. Consider (31) below.

(31) Question: *N-inki omw-ana a-nyw-a?*

FOC-what 1SG-child 1SG-drink-FV

‘What did the child drink?’

Answer: *O-mwa-ana n-'ama-beere a-nyw-a.*

CL1 SG-child Foc- CLPl-milk SM-drink-PERF-Fv

Child MILK has drunk.

‘It is milk the child drank.’

(31) A-P (PF): [CP [IP[DP omwana [FocP namabere [I' Pres. [AgSP a- [v'P[~~v~~ anywa
 [DP ~~namabeere~~]]]]]]]]

< λx [omwana anywa x], amaberee [amaache, erongoori,>

< λx [child drank x], milk [water, gruel..., >

The construction in (31) above converges because there is no other focussed constituent in the IBV position as in the examples in (32) below which crash because they are not interpretable at the interfaces.

(32) a. **Omw-aana ni-igo ama-beere a-nywa*

1SG-child Foc-PTL 16Pl-milk 1SG-drink-PERF-FV

“Child it’s milk has drank.”

[IP Omwana [Foc P niigo [FocP amabeere [I' [v'P anywa [DP ~~amabeere~~]]]]]]

- b. **Omw-aana* *ni-igo* *n'-ama-beere* *a-nyw-a*
1SG-child **Foc-PTL** **FOC-16Pl-milk** **1SG-drink-PERF-FV**

“Child it’s milk has drank.”

[IP Omwana [Foc P niigo [FocP namabeere [I’[v’P anywa [DP ~~namabeere~~]]]]]]

The focused object is blocked from getting to the sentence initial position because there is a focal position between the specifier of the IP and the inflection (verb) in which its focal features can be valued. In (32 a) above the object is not focus marked for it to be realized in the FocP besides the structural problem of doubling of projections. Construction (32 b) above crashes due the restriction against multiple focus projections in the IBV position.

The stranding of the displaced is possible because there is a focus position between the specifier and the verb. This is evident because of the realization of the focused particle {-igo} that is used in EkeGusii sentences in neutral focus constructions as in (33) below, and in cases where the focused object is in situ, the position has to be filled with a pro-form in order for the construction to surface (see example (33) below). In EkeGusii, the canonical declarative, in cases where an action has been completed, typically is derived with a verb initial particle that is optionally focus marked in sentences with an empty past perfective feature as shown in (33b) below.

- (33) a. *Omwa-ana* *igo* *a-nyw-φ-a* *ama-beere*
1SG-child **PTL** **SM-drink-PL** **16PL-milk**
 “Child has drank milk”

- b. *Omwa-ana* *ni-igo* *a-nyw-a* *ama-beere*
1SG-child **foc-PTL** **1SG-drink-PERF-FV** **PL CL** **16PL-milk**
 Child has drank milk

Thus the construction has a focus position within the IP phase which is externally merged when the subject is moved to the specifier position where it triggers the particle *igo* ‘so’ to be inserted with an optional focus marker. The so created focus position has been grammaticalized in the language, making it possible for a focused object to be legible in the sensory-motor interface in EkeGusii.

- (34) a. *Omw-aana* *n-ama-beere* *ama-ange* *a-nyw-et-e*
1SG-child **Foc-16PL-milk** **16PL-1umch** **1SG-drink-PERF-FV**

‘Child a lot of milk drunk ’

- b. **Omw-ana* *ni-igo* *ama-beere* *ama-nge* *a-nyw-et-e*
1SG-child **Foc-PTL** **16PL-milk** **16PL-lot** **1SG-drink-PERF-FV**

‘Child a lot of milk drunk’

- c. **Omwa-ana ni-igo a-nyw-et-e n-ama-beere ama-nge.*

1SG-child Foc-PTL 1SG-drink-PERF-FV FOC-16PL-milk 16PL-much

‘A child drunk a lot of milk’

The sentences in (35) above illustrate the preference of the before the verb or object stranding pattern in (35a) over cases where the focus particle surfaces alongside focussed object in (35b),

- (35) a. *Omwa-ana ama-beere n-ama-ange a-nyw-et-e .*

1SG-child 16PL-milk FOC-16PL-much 1SG-drink-PERF-FV

‘Child milk is a lot drunk’

Stranding is also possible in ditransitive contexts as shown in (36) below.

- (36) Question: *Ni-nki Maria a-e-t-e omwa-ana?*

FOC-what Maria 1SG-give-PST-FV 1SG-child

‘What did Maria give the child’

Answer: (a) *Maria n'-ama-beere a-e-t-e omwa-ana.*

Maria FOC-16PL-Milk 1SG-give-PST-FV 1SG-child

‘It is milk Maria gave the child’

- (b.) * *Maria n'-ama-beere omwa-ana a-e-t-e*

Maria FOC-16PL-Milk 1SG-child 1SG-give-PST-FV

‘It is milk Maria gave the child’

The particle {-oka} is pied piped with the object in the process of moving to the intermediate focus position as in (37) below.

- (37.) a. *Omo-reri ni-igo a-e-t-e omwa-aana bweka*

1-SG-nurse FOC-PTL 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-Child only

ama-beere.

16PL-Milk

‘The maid gave only the child milk’

- b. *Omo-reri n'-omwa-aana bweka a-e-t-e ama-beere.*

1SG-nurse Foc-1SG-Child only 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 16PL-Milk

‘It is only the child the maid gave milk to’

- (38) a. *Omo-reri ni-igo a-e-t-e omw-aana ama-beere*

1SG-nurse FOC-PTL 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-Child CL-PL-Milk
oka.

Only

‘The maid gave the child only milk’

- b. *Omo-reri n'-ama-beere oka a-e-t-e omw-aana.*

1SG-nurse FOC-CL-PL-Milk only 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-Child

‘It is milk only that the maid gave to the child’

The IP Phase internal position is not available in some constructions if it is not interpretable in one of the interfaces as demonstrated in the examples with an overt past perfect Marker and a Subject Marker agreeing with the subject as in (39) below. The displaced Object construction in (39a(ii)) below crashes because it is not legible at the Conceptual-Intentional interface (or is semantically uninterruptable) but can be legible when the Sensory-Motor interface licences a different subject marker, {a-} instead of {o-} as in (39a(iv.)) below, hence the operation Agree acts as a repair strategy for the construction to converge. This is the case because the construction with the agreement marker {a-} in (39a(iii)) equally crashes.

- (39) a. (i.) *Omw-ana O-nyu-ur-e ama-beere.*

CI1SG-child SM-drink-PERF-FV

‘Child has drank’

- (ii.) **Omw-ana n'-ama-beere O-nyu-ur-e.*

CI1SG-child Foc-CLPL-milk SM-drink-PERF-FV

Child has drank

- (iii.) **Omw-aana a-nyu-ur-e ama-beere.*

CI1SG-child SM-drink-PERF-FV CLPL-Milk

Child has drank

- (iv) *Omw-ana n'-ama-beere a-nyu-ur-e.*

CL1SG-child Foc-CLPL-MILK SM-drink-PERF-FV

Child has drank

The Agree component seems to have a phonological feature that involves vowel harmony as a prerequisite for agreement that prevents some constructions from converging in the interfaces. Therefore, the locality conditions are fulfilled by the immediately antecedent argument, the object, inducing vowel replacement, without actually inducing a semantic shift of the vowel. The process is anomalous since we have two agreement relations which are induced by both interfaces applying on one morpheme, that is, there arises a case of partial or shared Agree in which the sensory-motor interface licenses Object agreement and the Conceptual-Intentional interface Subject Agreement.

Consider the sentences in which more than one object is realized in the convergent construction as in (40) below.

- (40) a. *Omo-reri n'-ama-beere a-e-t-e Omw-aana*
1SG-nurse Foc-16PL-Milk 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-Child
 'It is MILK the maid gave to the child'
- c. *?*Omo-reri ama-beere a-et-e omw-aana*
1SG-nurse 16PL-Milk 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV CL1-SG-Child
 'It is MILK the maid gave to the child'
- (41) a. *Omo-reri n'- omw-aana a-e-t-e ama-beere.*
1SG-nurse FOC-1SG-Child 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 16PL-Milk
 'It is the child Omweri gave milk'
- b. **Omo-reri omw-aana a-e-t-e ama-beere.*
1SG-nurse 1SG-Child 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 16PL-Milk
 'It is MILK the maid gave to the child'

Consider the SVOO sentences, in which more than one object is realized in the convergent construction, as in (42) below. In such sentences

- (42) a. *Omo-reri n'-ama-beere a-e-t-e Omw-aana*
1SG-nurse Foc-16PL-Milk 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 1SG-Child

‘It is MILK the maid gave to the child’

- b. ?**Omo-reri ama-beere a-et-e omw-aana*

1SG-nurse 16PL-Milk 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV CL1-SG-Child

‘It is MILK the maid gave to the child’

- (43) a. *Omo-reri n’- omw-aana a-e-t-e ama-beere.*

1SG-nurse FOC-1SG-Child 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 16PL-Milk

‘It is the child Omweri gave milk’

- b. **Omo-reri omw-aana a-e-t-e ama-beere.*

1SG-nurse 1SG-Child 1SG-give-PST-PERF-FV 16PL-Milk

‘It is MILK the maid gave to the child’

4.3.2 Term Focus Stranding

The analysis of term or verb focus in Bantu is problematic in the context where the immediately before verb (IBV) low focus position is assumed (such as in Hyman, 2007). Whether the verb is focussed in situ or it involves movement to the IBV position is a question that has never been addressed in previous studies of term focus in Bantu language. In this paper we argue that it is the case that the verb moves from the light verb (v’P) to the IBV or the stranded position within the inflection (I’) for focus features to be interpretable. Consider the sentence in (44) below:

- (44) a. *Ni-nki o-mw-ana a-kore-Φ-re-tw-e?*

Foc-what AUG-1SG-Child 1SG-Do-PAST-PERF-APPL-FV

‘What was done for the child?’

- b. *O-mw-ana n-a-e-tw-e ama-beere.*

AUG-1SG-child FOC-1Sg-givem-PST-PERF-FV 16PL-Milk

‘The child was GIVEN milk.’

The verbal element undergoes focus marking by taking the focus marking morpheme then it is copied in light verb (v’P) position and internally merged in IBV position (FocP) as illustrated in (44’) below.

- (44’) a. [_{IP} [_{DP} omwana [_{I’} [_{FocP} <naetwe> [_{v’P} <naetwe> [_{DP} amabeere]]]]]

This analysis gives credence to the idea that focus induces movement in the language and *in situ* focus marking is a marked syntactic process.

The auxiliary is focussed and moved to the IBV position too as exemplified in (45) below

(45) *Bosiire n-e-re o-nyw-a ama-beere.*

Bosiire FOC-NC1-is 1SG-drunk-FV AUG-16PL-milk.

‘Bosire is the one drunk milk’

(45') Syntax: [IP [DP Bosiire [FOCp nere [I' [CopP nere [v'p nere onywa [DP amabeere]]]]]]

Semantics:

The sentence can be understood by comparing it with a neutral focus sentence in (46) below.

(46) *Bosiire n-igo e-re a-nyw-a ama-beere*

Bosiire Foc-PTL 1SG-is 1SG-drink-FV 16PL-milk

‘Bosiire has drank milk’

(46') [IP [DP [FocP nigo [I' [CopP ere [v'P anywa [DP amabeere]]]]]]

The focus marker in the neutral focus does not induce a focus reading because the particle does not have a meaning changing function as is the case of the other lexemes in focus constructions.

4.3.3 Stranding of Focussed Adverbials

The adverbials typically are adjoined after the main verb in EkeGusii. The constructions that play the role of adverbials include temporals (adverbs of time), locatives (adverbs of place) etc. The adverbs that will be used to illustrate stranding in this section will be limited to adjuncts that occur immediately after the verb. The word igoro ‘yesterday’ can function as a sentential adjunct, by being adjoined to the presentential position, this will involve a derivational process that moves the focussed form down into the stranded or IBV position. This study assumes this process to be uneconomical, and hence rejects the notion of roll-down that is advocated in Aboh (2007), who posits that in relation to information structure anything moves anywhere.

(47) a. *Omo-ibi ni-igo a-bwat-et-w-e igoro.*

1SG-thief FOC-PTL 1SG-catch-PERF-PASS-FV yesterday

‘A thief was caught yesterday’

b. i. *Omo-ibi n'-igoro a-bwat-etw-e*

1SG-thief FOC- yesterday 1SG-catch-PERF-PASS-FV

‘ It was yesterday a thief was caught’

ii. *Omo-ibi a-bwat-etw-e n'-igoro*

1SG-thief 1SG-catch-PERF-PASS-FV FOC-yesterday

‘ It was yesterday a thief was caught’

(47') [CP [IP [DP[NP omoibi [I' [FocP n' -igoro [V'P abwatetwe [AdvP n' -igoro]]]]]]]]

< λx [omoibi abwatetwex] igoro (x) [reero, moisonde...>

< λx [a thief was caught on x] yesterday (x) [today, yesterday but one...>

In (47') the temporal adverb *igoro* is merged with the focus marker *n-* in its post-verbal position which induces the phrase to be copied and moved to the focus position immediately before the verb (IBV)- hence it is stranded. The lower copy is then transferred and deleted in the A-P interface. The de re reading of the sentence is replaced by the 'It is x' reading in the conceptual-intentional interface.

The same process of derivation is exhibited in relation to the adjunct locative. The locative is moved into the focus hijacked position, that is immediately before the verb position and the first syllable is focus marked by high pitched phonation. The pattern is given in (48 b) below.

(48) a. *Omo-ibi ni-igo a-bwate-re-tw-e Menyinkwa*

1SG-thief FOC-PTL 1SG-catch-PERF-PASS-FV in Menyikwa

‘ A thief was caught in Menyinkwa’

< λP [P happened] A thief was caught in menyinkwa [A tailor cut cloth in menyikwa,...]>

b. *Omoibi ^mMenyinkwa a-bwate-re-tw-e*

1SG-thief FOC-Menyinkwa 1SG-catch-PERF-PASS-FV

‘ It is in Mennyinkwa the thief was caught’

< λx [a thief was caught in x] Menyinkwa (x) [Bosongo, Keroka...>

The constructions realized Adverbials are copied in the complement position of the verb and internally merged in the immediately before the verb position because the immediately after the verb position is not available to focus marking. This is a general constraint that operates in the language affecting all constituents that are focussed in the immediately after the verb position.

5. Conclusion

The EkeGusii language has an immediate before verb low focus position (IBV) but no immediate after verb focus position as exhibited by Bantu languages such as Aghem (Hyman,2007). The examination of the focussed constructions in EkeGusii demonstrates that

focus movement is not obligatory in the language. The Ekegusii focus induced movement fronting can either involve movement to a sentence initial position, a form of \bar{A} movement, or it is stranded within the IP Phase because of a lower focus position in which it is possible for the focus feature to be checked. The MLC is met because the latter is the shortest movement possible in the given configuration, however it induces partial Agree in some constructions. Modificational elements of the subject, i.e. the adverbs, and adjectives in the complex Determiner Phrase, induce movement for the entire phrase from the specifier in the IP to the CP (also referred to as A'-movement), whereas those realized in the object position or as complements of the verb induce copy and movement out of their position within the light verb phrase to higher focus positions in the immediate before the verb (stranded position in the IP or A-movement). The stranding of the object is however not possible in some constructions in which long distance movement is possible. EkeGusii falls does not under type B discourse-configurationality languages, in which movement is driven by the “(discourse-) semantic function “focus” (cf. Kiss, 1995:6), because it has some constructions which are not moved overtly to any of the two landing positions stipulated in this paper .

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Appendix A: Syntactic Derivation of EkeGusii Sentences

1. $N: \wedge = \{ \langle \text{PRE-PFX}, N \rangle, \langle \text{PRE-PFX}, \text{Num} \rangle, \langle \text{PRE-PFX}, \text{CL} \rangle, \langle \text{CL}, N \rangle, \langle \text{CL}, \text{Num} \rangle, \dots \}$
 - a. Merge ($\text{mwa-}, \sqrt{\text{ana}} \rangle = \{ \{ \text{mwaana} \} \}$
 - . Label $\{ \{ \text{mwaana} \} \} = N$ (Root Labelling)
 - b. Merge ($\text{o}, \text{mwaana} \rangle = \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}$
 - . Label $\{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \} = D$
 - c. Merge ($\text{oko-}, \sqrt{\text{nywa}} \rangle = \{ \{ \Phi\text{-nywa} \dots \} \}$
 - . Label $\{ \{ \Phi\text{-nywa} \} \} = VP$
 - f. Merge $\{ \{ \Phi\text{-nywa} \} \}, \text{ete} \rangle = \{ \{ \{ \text{nywete} \} \} \}$
 - . Label $\{ \{ \{ \text{nywete} \} \} \}$
 - G. Merge $\{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}$ and $\{ \{ \{ \text{nywete} \} \} \} \rangle = \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \text{nywete} \} \} \} \}$
 - . Label $\{ \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \text{nywete} \} \} \} \} = v^*$
 - H External Merge $\{ \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}, a, \{ \{ \{ \text{nywete} \} \} \} \rangle = \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{anywete} \} \} \} \} \}$
 - I. Primary Merge ($\text{ma}, \sqrt{\text{beere}} \rangle = \{ \{ \text{amabeere} \dots \} \}$
 - . Label $\{ \{ \text{mabeere} \} \} = CL$
 - J. Primary Merge ($a, \{ \{ \text{mabeere} \} \} \rangle = \{ \{ \{ \text{amabeere} \} \} \}$
 - . Label $\{ \{ \{ \text{amabeere} \} \} \} = D$
 - K. External Merge $\{ \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{anywete} \} \} \} \} \}$ and $\{ \{ \{ \text{amabeere} \} \} \} \rangle = \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{anywete} \} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \text{amabeere} \} \} \} \}$
 - . Label $\{ \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{anywete} \} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \text{amabeere} \} \} \} \} = v^*$
 - L. Merge $\{ \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{anywete} \} \} \} \} \}, N, \{ \{ \{ \text{amabeere} \} \} \} \rangle = \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{anywete} \} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \text{namabeere} \} \} \} \}$
 - . Label $\{ \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{anywete} \} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \text{namabeere} \} \} \} \} = v^*$
 - M. Merge $\{ \{ \text{namabeere} \}, \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{anywete} \} \} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \text{namabeere} \} \} \} \rangle$
 - . Label $\{ \{ \text{namabeere} \}, \{ \{ \{ \text{omwaana} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \{ \text{anywete} \} \} \} \}, \{ \{ \{ \text{namabeere} \} \} \} \} = TP$



The Impact of Social Media on EFL Learners' Speaking Skill: A Survey Study Involving Both EFL Teachers and Students

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ABSTRACT

The widespread of Social media in all domain of life has led to its integration into the educational context because Social media show a great potential for enhancing both teaching and learning experiences. Moreover, Social media have gained much respect and popularity among EFL teachers who are in need to go beyond the traditional methods of teaching where teachers used to accomplish most parts of the job. Moreover, our traditional classrooms still emphasize on writing and reading at the expense of speaking. Therefore, teaching speaking represents a great challenge for both EFL teachers and learners who display low achievements in their oral skills. The current study aimed to investigate the effectiveness of using Social media on EFL students' speaking skill. The research covers two basic issues. First, the extent to which Social media affect students' speaking skill. Second, how can Social media be helpful in EFL context to improve speaking? The research was done at Islamic Azad Universities of Iran. Two questionnaires were distributed; one for 100 EFL teachers and the other one addressed to 100 learners. The practical outcome of the study has displayed that the frequent usage of Social media by EFL students as well as teachers constitutes a significant impact on both users. It has also reflected the teachers' readiness to integrate Social media in EFL context by means of a convenient pedagogy. Technology is believed to make students respond positively in a language classroom, therefore, it is tremendously important for teachers to enrich their teaching process with the appropriate use of Social media and to promote a global understanding among the EFL Students who should broaden their perspectives about the target cultures and ameliorate their communicative competence in order to interact and communicate effectively and appropriately in English Language.

1. Introduction

For many years Language has been regarded as a means of communication among people regardless their different races and colors. Humans need language as much as they need air, water, and food. There would be no life without that channel which connects people, as it is the basic means of oral communication among individuals, groups and people.

Language teaching has always been facing various difficulties in the process of seeking successfulness. One of the main issues that EFL teachers come across is how to make learners use the language competently and function accurately in real context. Similarly, Students are proved to have low performance when they are asked to fulfill tasks that require speaking in class. In addition, what makes the situation even more complicated is that some teachers are still using traditional techniques and methods which do not provide the required environment for students to speak comfortably.

In an attempt to find remedial solutions for this low performance by learners, teachers and instructors opted for a variety of activities and procedures that make the learner use the

language. However, the language they learn in class is not helping them to enhance their communicative competence.

The student of the twenty first century can never learn how to speak by drills or words learned by heart, he would rather be motivated to learn if the learning itself is interesting and entertaining, Social media as taking most of student's time, can be thought of as an educating tool if used properly (Namaziandost, Rahimi Esfahani, & Ahmadi, 2019).

The significance of this study then is to help EFL learners find the right environment to speak and improve their speaking skills by means of Social media. The work covers also, a variety of creative solutions and ideas concerning using ICTs to enhance the learners speaking proficiency.

It is of great importance to measure the extent to which Social media can help education and EFL members, especially with the inventions of new technologies. This study is believed to open the door to new unprecedented approaches and pedagogies that will enrich the domain of teaching in the future.

Concerning the main problem of this study, it is vitally important to mention that the speaking skill of any language is crucially paramount because it serves the purpose of communication which is this language using by all people around the world to share their ideas and communicate via a language speech, especially, English language speech which is the most useful one in the world. EFL learners in Iran are one of those users of English as a foreign language (Namaziandost & Ahmadi, 2019). They are looking all the time to improve their speaking skill because English as a foreign language in Algeria is mainly taught in terms of grammar and structures. Therefore, less attention is paid to the speaking skill. So, this need to improve the speaking skill for Iranian EFL learners has led to the use of new ways of technology in order to keep up with the times. As a matter of fact, they use Social media to communicate with different people around the world using English as a global language of communication. Starting from this point we need to know if Social Media have any effects on EFL learners speaking skill. Therefore, this study is designed to find answers to two main research questions:

RQ1. To what extent Social Media influence students' speaking skill?

RQ2. How can Social Media be helpful in EFL context to enhance student' speaking proficiency?

2. Literature Review

2.1. Introduction

The history of EFL teaching has witnessed a great amount of changes in strategies, procedures, and sometimes roles of teachers and learners. Despite this, the goal has always been the same which is making EFL learners communicatively competent in the target language and shape their proficiency to meet the different challenges of life in real situations (Nasri, Biria, & Karimi, 2018).

Nowadays, EFL teaching and learning has been influenced by the technological innovation, and many tools have been added to the English class so as to facilitate the process of teaching/learning and provide a more realistic environment for learners to mention but a few of these tools one can cite: the Data show, computers, and recorded tapes. However, there should be a great need to update these tools as the time goes on, in order to keep up with the advancement of ICT's in the world.

The overwhelming spread of Social media among learners and even teachers proved itself as a successful tool to education. Similarly, most teachers believe that the main aim behind

learning a language is to speak it fluently and accurately which means that understanding a language should not necessarily construct the assumption that he/she knows the language (Namaziandost, Nasri, & Rahimi Esfahani, 2019; Nasri & Biria, 2017). The learner should rather accomplish a great level of proficiency in the four language skills including speaking. However, speaking a foreign language is not an easy task, and it is definitely not as easy as speaking mother tongue. As a solution, many scholars believe that the appropriate use and the successful integration of ICTs and social media in the classroom can reduce the impediments that prevent EFL learners from the mastery of the speaking skill.

1.2. Speaking Skill

Speaking is a key used between people to communicate in the social context. Also Speaking is "the process of building and sharing meaning through the use of verbal and non-verbal symbols, in a variety of contexts" (Chaney, 1998, p. 13). (Brown, 1994) and (Burns & Joyce, 1997) define Speaking as a reactive process of a structured meaning that includes receiving and producing and sharing information. In Applied linguistic speaking has a set of descriptions; speaking as a social and situation-based activity and speaking as an interaction, (Azadi, Biria, & Nasri, 2018; Thornbory, 2005). All these perspectives see speaking as a whole side of learner's daily lives in receiving and producing speech.

Speaking is an important language skill for learners and teachers. Bygate (2002) See it as a complex, and multilevel skill; the complexity part is explained by the fact that the use of speakers' knowledge of the language and activate their ability is necessary to do this under real situations.

Speaking plays a crucial part in foreign/second language teaching-learning. It has occupied a significant and delicate rank all the way through the history of language teaching. Despite its importance, teaching speaking has been undervalued and it is just in the last two decades that has gained its right to be an independent⁴ branch of teaching (Hosseini, Nasri, & Afghari, 2017). Speaking then is not dependent only on pronouncing words. English teachers therefore, devoted paramount time to speaking as being essential in facilitating the enhancement of English learners' proficiency.

It is worth mentioning that the four skills are described in terms of their direction as far as language teaching is concerned, that is to say, the language generated by the learner (in speech or writing) is referred to as "productive" while, Language directed at the learner (in reading or listening) is called "receptive". Another important idea is "the channel", which refers to the medium of the message (aural/oral or written). Thus, speaking is the productive aural/oral skill. It consists of producing systematic verbal "utterances" to convey meaning.

Speaking, yet is a skill which deserves attention, the learners often need to be able to speak with confidence in order to carry out many of their most basic transactions. It is the skill by which they are most frequently judged and through which they may take or lose opportunities in life (Namaziandost, Abdi Saray, & Rahimi Esfahani, 2018). It is the vehicle of social solidarity, of social ranking, of professional advancement and of business. Perhaps then, the teaching of speaking merits more thought.

1.3. Issues of The Oral Production class in The English Department

One of the major responsibilities of any teacher working with English Language Learners (ELLs) is to enable them to communicate effectively through oral language. Teachers concerned with teaching the spoken language usually debate thoroughly about one question: why is it too difficult for learners to learn oral expression? To a large extent, it is because the current oral production class is teacher centered, despite the various attempts teachers make to engage learners in discussions and motivate them to speak, the amount of speeches students have are still not sufficient. Besides, the Oral language that students learn at the classroom does not help in enhancing their communicative competencies which are mostly needed in real life situations. Similarly, Baker and Westrup (2003, p.5) state that: “a student who can speak English well may have greater chance for further education, finding employment and gaining promotion”.

In the same line of thought, speaking appears to be a difficult skill to develop in the EFL classes because students not only need to be well prepared in English skills, they need also to use them to build social relationships that allow them to interact with each other. An argument that supports this view is found in Gutierrez (2005, p.3) statement he claims that: “learners often need to be able to speak⁷ with confidence in order to carry out many of their most basic transactions. It is the skill by which they are most frequently judged, and by which they make or lose friends”. In addition to what has been mentioned earlier, many other factors prevent learners from reaching oral expression proficiency in class most of which are psychological, for instance; anxiety and inhibition. There are many procedures that should be opted for by language teachers to improve learners’ proficiency in Oral Expression module among which group work, role-play and discussions which encourage students to take communicative initiatives (Namaziandost, Saberi Dehkordi, & Shafiee, 2019). Moreover, learners cannot be effective in tomorrow’s world if they are trained in yesterday’s skill which means that the student who use technology in almost every task of his daily life should make use of technology as well improve his speaking skill.

1.3. EFL Students’ Speaking Problems

Beyond any doubt, English as foreign language (EFL) learners, no matter how much they know about the English language, still face many speaking difficulties. Many studies have indicated that oral language development has largely been neglected in the classroom, and most of the time, oral language in the classroom is used more by teachers than by students. However, oral language, even as used by the teacher, hardly ever functions as a means for students to gain knowledge and explore ideas (Abram & Pearlman, 2010). To develop the knowledge to deal with oral communication problems in an EFL context, researchers first need to know the real nature of those problems and the circumstances in which ‘problems’ are constructed.

Inhibition: One of the main problems is when students try to say things in a foreign language in the classroom and they get inhibited. Much of their worry is built over making mistakes, fearful of criticism or losing face. They are shy of the attention that their speech attracts. Littlewood (2007) asserts that a foreign language classroom can create inhibitions and anxiety easily.

Lack of Topical Knowledge: It is highly important for teachers to engage students in oral communication in topics that are familiar to them, students usually complain about having nothing to say in certain topics simply because the topic is not suitable for them.

Low or Uneven Participation: Another problem in speaking class is that students can never be in the same level of proficiency and as a result, some of them may speak a lot, so there is a tendency of some learners to dominate others.

The mother tongue use: One of the most frequently done issues in classroom is the use of mother tongue. In fact, students sometimes can never be blamed for using the mother tongue. Harmer (1991) puts forward several reasons amongst the fact that it is rather a natural phenomenon that needs practice more and more to overcome it. Another reason is when teachers use mother tongue, this may give students the impression that it is of no harm to use mother tongue on their part as well.

1.4 Technology and Learning Tools in the EFL Classroom

First of all, the last two decades have witnessed rapid explosions of information which lead to an urgent need to cope with the ongoing scientific acceleration in all fields. Information revolution, which yielded the internet, is the most important technological accomplishment to date. Internet enables people to cancel distances, shorten time, and make the world more like a small electronic screen (Al Musa, 2002; Namaziandost, Abedi, & Nasri, 2019). Similarly, education is required to meet the needs of this growing scientific acceleration. To put it another way, education aims and objectives in the Third World countries should be changed to meet the era's variables, aiming not only to help students in the cognitive domain, but also focus on their needs to attain the skills, capacities, and self-reliance to interact with the era's variables and build a new life based on sovereignty, not dependency on others (Al Musa & Al Mubarak, 2005; Namaziandost, Abedi, & Nasri, 2019).

Education needs to equip students with the needed tools and skills that make them capable of dealing with these new requirements effectively. Thus, involving technology as a goal in itself in the educational paradigm is no longer a privilege; on the contrary, it is an urgent need (Aziz, Shamim, Aziz, & Avais, 2013). With the increasing reliance on technology and the need for digital proficiency, it is expected that the use of online technology to work with second language acquisition is a natural by-product of the changing face of the educational world. Evidences have shown that students who conduct their learning online are better than students who work in traditional settings for the learning of a second language, in terms of their levels of anxiety and their need for gap awareness in their language skills (Akinola, 2015; Pichette, 2009). Studies have also shown that the use of technologies in teaching languages have an increased advantage on the development of grammar, vocabulary, reading, writing, pronunciation, listening, and speaking skills (Haigh, 2010; Levy, 2009; Namaziandost & Shafiee, 2018).

1.5. Social media

The meaning of the term 'Social media' can be derived from two words that are 'social' and 'Networks'. The first term is 'Social' which means connected with society and the way it is organized, in which they meet and spend time with other people. The second one is Networks which means: a group of two or more computer systems linked together (Eren, 2012; Beal, 2015; Namaziandost, Sabzevari, & Hashemifardnia, 2018).

Social media is a current phenomenon that includes both web-based communication with Internet users through websites and interaction with others via cellular phones. It is very clear that education industry worldwide is in the midst of a revolution caused by the evolving technologies such as the web 2.0 and the advent of web 3.0 allowing students to create content,

exchange ideas and share knowledge. So much so that in the last few years there has been extensive discussion and heated debate exploring social media in journal articles and conferences. Much of this discussion has focused on developing a clearer understanding of the capabilities of such technology as a new platform for enhancing students' independent learning and how much Social media has yielded as academic achievement and whether it could be used as new pedagogical tools outside or even inside the classroom. At the same time, the ubiquitous presence of social media has attracted researchers to study both positive aspects and concerns of using such tools in various settings offering new and various ways of using computers or/and mobile devices. (Hashemifardnia, Namaziandost, & Rahimi Esfahani, 2018; Paliktzoglou & Suhonen, 2014).

As education institutions are embracing social media there is a need to optimize the positive effect of such technologies to bring them into pedagogy to make instruction and learning active and applicable to the cyber environment of the new millennium. In recent years, more and more education institutions are making a presence in Social media such as Blogs, Twitter, YouTube, Facebook to create effective ways for the establishment of collaborative and interactive online learning system. Therefore, technology-driven culture is featuring prominently in all pedagogical activities. Hence, the focus of learning and instruction needs to be viewed from a newer perspective "without gathering students and teachers in the same physical space" (Aloraini, 2012; Maney, 2009). In other words, learning should no longer be tied to a particular location and a particular time table. Basically, Social media sites extend far beyond their traditional purpose of communication and entertainment to promote students' self-reliance in learning through enquiry and sharing and more importantly, enhance their speaking abilities by means of online interaction. With this in mind, it has been suggested that the language teaching situation in terms of the students' speaking competence is not successful to a certain extent in EFL contexts which can cause verbal communication barriers in their everyday lives and in the maritime environment. Therefore, an urgent need for a solution is needed.

Social media with its various kinds could be considered as a remedy as these materials have potential to attract the students by being flexible, entertaining, and interactive and provide an excellent chance for learners to express themselves in a self-confident way. Indeed, the use of Social media as a tool to improve students' listening and speaking / communicative skills would find an enthusiastic welcome from the learners' part as it goes hand to hand with their interests (Gibbins & Greenhow, 2016; Hashemifardnia, Namaziandost, & Sepehri, 2018). As Social media have penetrated so deeply in our lives, it is tremendously important to analyze the types and nature of each means.

To sum up, it is worth stating that speaking is not an easy task to teach and teachers should be aware of their students' needs and requirements in order to achieve proficiency in speaking. EFL teachers are also inclined to give ICTs their fair share of importance and utility in class. In fact, ICTs in general have contributed enormously in shaping the current teaching /learning process. Instructors and teachers on their part should make use of technologies as accurately as possible. It is indeed the ultimate way to keep the strategies up to date. ICTs nowadays are imposing themselves as a necessity in EFL classroom. Therefore; it is no more a privilege but rather an urgent needed tool to improve the students' communicative and speaking abilities.

3. Methodology

3.1. *The population*

The present research work is a survey study involving both EFL teachers (N=80) and students (N=120) at Islamic Azad universities of Iran. A survey design is defined by (Dana Lynn Driscoll, 2011) as a study “where you can gather information about people’s beliefs or behaviors; the information you collect is not first-hand (like an observation) but rather self-reported data” Consequently, opting for a survey design to figure out the influence of Social media on EFL learners can be more appropriate especially with combining both qualitative and quantitative approaches; this last will help to seek more reliable and valid results from both teachers and students.

The research was conducted at the department of Foreign Languages (English section) at Islamic Azad universities of Iran. The researcher deals with a sample of population consisting of both EFL teachers (N=100) and students (N=100) during the academic year 2018/2019. This research aims at drawing interest from both EFL teachers and learners to make use of Social media as an attempt to raise awareness about its great effects in shaping the students’ oral proficiency, and also to spark their interest in learning speaking.

3.1.1 Teachers

In the present study, the questionnaire was administrated to one-hundred (100) teachers from the department of English at the Islamic Azad universities of Iran. There has been an underlying reason for making EFL teachers involved in the research population because teachers play an intensive role , on the one hand they can be regarded as direct observers of the phenomenon and can evaluate students’ oral proficiency during the course , on the other hand they can simply be engaged in oral discussions with learners through the use of Social media and this will show how Social media influence the students’ level of speaking . The teachers taking part in this study hold either the degree of ‘Doctorate’ or ‘Magister’ most of them were experienced teachers who taught different modules.

3.1.2. Students

The choice of the sample of the students was based on the observation that was done by the researchers, where we observe the WhatsApp, Facebook, and Telegram groups that are created by students of the department of English at the universities of Iran from all the different levels and specialties. In these groups, students are sharing and discussing course-related materials with their classmates. Therefore, the present study took place in the Department of English at Islamic Azad universities of Iran. The participants were 100 students of English randomly selected as a sample population for the present study. They belonged to different levels from First year to master two students. The main aim behind this blend was to gather as much points of view about the use of Social media and examine their attitudes towards them and for a greater extent to derive from learners a variety of creative ideas on how to better use Social media to improve speaking.

3.3 *Research Instruments*

It is often assumed that “the backbone of any survey study is the instrument used for collecting data”(Dornyei & Ushioda, 2011) therefore, the researcher has opted for the use of two questionnaires one intended for teachers and the other for students , basically the same questions were asked with a slight difference in the style .

3.3.1 Questionnaire

The essence of any scientific research is the attempt made to find out answers to questions in a systematic manner. Yet, questionnaires in their various kinds are of the most common methods in collecting data in Foreign Language research and have attracted a worldwide interest among researchers. In the same vein Dornyei (2003, p.3) states: "Questionnaires are certainly the most often employed data collection devices in statistical work".

The questionnaire is addressed to EFL students and Teachers aiming at analyzing to which extent Social media impact the students' speaking skill and which strategies can be undertaken in order to integrate Social media in educational institutions such as university. Eight questions were included and different types of questions were used starting from open-ended and close-ended to multiple choice questions.

4. Results

4.1. Analysis of Teachers' Questionnaire

The questionnaire is addressed to ten EFL teachers. It mainly aims at reporting their ideas concerning the use of Social media among learners and teachers as well. In addition to that, its basic purpose is to show their impressions about how Social media contribute in shaping the students' speaking skills. This questionnaire includes eight questions that will be analyzed and presented as shown below.

Table 1: *Teachers' answers to the Questionnaire*

Question 1. How often do you use Social media?		
Frequency of Use	Absolute Frequency	Percentage
Always	55	55 %
Sometimes	35	35 %
Rarely	5	5 %
Never	5	5 %
Question 2. Have you ever used Social media for educational purposes? If yes, How?		
Frequency of Use	Absolute Frequency	Percentage
Yes	80	80 %
No	20	20 %
Question 3. Do you get in touch with learners through the use of Social media?		
The use of S.N to communicate with learners	Absolute Frequency	Percentage
Always	14	14 %
Sometimes	76	76 %
Rarely	3	3 %
Never	7	7 %
Question 4. Among the different types of social media, there are social media that are mostly based on oral communication such as Skype, WhatsApp or Telegram. As a teacher do you use one of these to get in touch with learners or native speakers? If yes, which one is your favorite?		
The Social Media	Number	Percentage
Skype	8	8 %
WhatsApp	51	51 %

Telegram	39	39 %	
None	2	2 %	
Question 5. Which language is mostly used when using these tools?			
The Language Used	Absolute Frequency	Percentage	
Mother Tongue	13	13 %	
English	84	85 %	
Arabic	2	2 %	
None of the languages	1	0%	
Question 6. To what extent can Skype, WhatsApp or Telegram be helpful to students? and why?			
The Influence	Absolute Frequency	Percentage	Reasons
High	24	24 %	Because they practice the language.
Medium	72	72 %	Because Social media represent a motivating and helpful environment.
Low	4	4 %	Because students need face to face interaction.

The first question aims at finding out to what extent teachers are attached to Social media and how often do they use them. Based on Table 1, The majority represented by five teachers use Social media always, while three of them use them sometimes and only two teachers have never used Social media. The second question was meant to determine the number of teachers using Social media for educational purposes. The main aim behind this question is to discover how teachers use Social media to achieve any educational goals. (80%) of teachers confirm that they use Social media for educational purposes such as sharing lectures, publishing useful links or sending messages to colleagues or students, while only one teacher used Social media to give lectures. The remaining (20%) believe that Social media can better be used for other reasons. The answers concerning this question revealed that despite the fact that most teachers use Social media to achieve educational goals, only few of them use them to give lectures or perform oral conversations with learners. Regarding the third question, the rationale of this question is to figure out if teachers benefit from Social media at the level of communicating information and ideas with EFL learners. The findings of this question reveal that (76%) of teachers sometimes use Social media to communicate with learners in matters more likely to be related to education while (7%) have never used them to communicate with learners. In question four, knowing which Social media teachers prefer is the ultimate goal of such a question. Teachers and even learners may have different Social media to use when they seek oral communication therefore, it is very important to our research to know which Social media ranks the best among EFL teachers. The results show that WhatsApp is the most used Social media among teachers with (51%) while (39%) of them are using Telegram. Teachers have made their choices based on different criteria that characterize each Social media. Question five is administered in an attempt to know which language is being used by teachers when using Social media and also to see if teachers are making use of these Social media to contribute in the whole field of education. The result denotes the remarkable control of English over the other languages in use, research shows

that most teachers represented with (84%) use English as the main Language in oral communication, while Mother Tongue is ranked second with (13%) of use. (1%) of teachers state that they don't use any language and their use is entirely passive. Last but not least, the use of Arabic language with only (2%). Question six is designed in an attempt to know the teachers' point of view about the main issue of the whole research which is the influence of Social media on the students speaking skill; it also includes an opportunity for teachers to justify their opinions. Accordingly, the results display that the overall number of teachers believe that Social media do have an impact on the students' level of speaking. As the results show, seven teachers measured the influence at medium level attributing their choice to the motivating and helping environment that Social media provide. In addition, twenty-four teachers claim that Social media have a high influence since they represent an ample opportunity to practice the language and therefore improve the speaking skill. On the other hand, there is only four teacher who goes with the idea that the influence is low and barely existing since Social media do not provide face to face interaction and therefore, the positive influence is very low.

4.2. Analysis of the Students' Questionnaire

This questionnaire is mainly designed to diagnose the students' use of Social media and its impact on the students speaking skill. After treatment of the teachers' questionnaire, the present section is devoted to the analysis of the data collected from the students' questionnaire. All 100 students answered this questionnaire for the sake of obtaining as much as various data available. The questionnaire consisted of six questions and each one will be treated separately as follow:

Table 2: Students' answers to the Questionnaire

Question 1. Do you use Social media?		
The use	Absolute Frequency	Percentage
Always	82	82 %
Sometimes	16	16 %
Rarely	2	2 %
Never	0	0 %
Question 2. Have you ever used Social mediaing for educational purposes? If yes, How?		
The influence	Absolute Frequency	Percentage
A lot	71	71 %
A little	27	21 %
Not at all	0	0 %
I don't know	2	2 %
Question 3. Among the different existing Social media there are, those which can be used in oral communication such as Skype, WhatsApp or Telegram, do you use any of them? If yes which one is your favorite?		
The Social Media	Number	Percentage
Skype	1	1 %
WhatsApp	69	69 %
Telegram	29	29 %
None	1	1 %
Question 4. Which language do you use when doing so?		
The Language Used	Absolute Frequency	Percentage
Mother Tongue	21	21 %

English	78	78 %
Other languages	1	1 %

Question 5. Have you ever used Social media to talk with native speakers of English around the world?

The use	Number	Percentage
Yes	77	77 %
No	33	33 %

Question 6. To what extent do you think these types of Social media can help to improve students' speaking skills?

The Influence	Absolute Frequency	Percentage
High	82	82 %
Medium	18	18 %
Low	0	0 %

The first question has been asked for two main reasons the first is to engage the participant in the topic so that he/she constructs a previous knowledge about what is coming next of questions. Secondly, to know how far students are attached to Social media. The majority of participants (eighty-two) making up (82%) stated that they always use Social media, while only sixteen students making (16%) stated that their use of Social media is not a priority and therefore, they use them only sometimes. Regarding the second question, it is very important for the researcher to know the students' standpoint about the influence of Social media simply because they represent an effective part in the phenomenon. The results have shown that most students seventy-two, making up (72 %) believe that Social media do influence a lot the students' level, while twenty-seven students making up (27%) claimed that the influence is subtle and have little influence, besides this, only two students did not have an answer. The third question was addressed to EFL students to know which Social media is mostly used or favored by students. The answers concerning this question have revealed that WhatsApp is the most favored Social media between students making up (69%) of users, while Telegram occupied the second most used Social media with twenty-nine students making up (29%). Skype on the other hand ranked the third with one user making up (1%), while only one student claimed they do not use any. Question four is devised to determine the language that students mostly use when using Social media. This question is very essential to the research work. It shows its significance as far as English is concerned. The research has displayed that seventy-eight students making up (78 %) use English as the main language for oral communication in Social media while twenty-one students making up (21 %) opt for the Mother tongue. Moreover, one student making up (1%) use other languages. Some students opted for more than one choice which means that they shift from one language to the other according to the speakers' need. Behind question five, the researcher aimed to know the extent to which students of English are making use of Social media by having oral conversations with native speakers. The results have displayed that sixty-seven students making up (77 %) have had the opportunity to speak to native speakers online, while only nine making up (23%) students did not go through the experience. By the question sixth, the researcher wanted to know EFL students' attitudes and ideas towards the employment of Social media in educational fields to improve speaking skill. The majority of students making up (82%) think that Social media do improve the speaking proficiency to a high extent, while (18 %) of students claimed that the improvement is medium since the process is at the risk of causing many shortcomings.

5. Discussion and Conclusion

First of all, it is worth saying that teachers at the university are conscious of the advancement and progress of communication and technology and its assumption to the field of education, and what makes this true is the frequent use of Social media by teachers who tend to publish educational links and share knowledge with their students. Moreover, the benefit gained from Social media is dependent, and differs from one teacher to another, in the same vain only few teachers use Social media for online lecturing. In addition, WhatsApp and Telegram have got quite large popularity among teachers in comparison with other Social media. Thus, their use involves mostly colleagues and not students. Furthermore, teachers believe in the influence of Social media supporting their stand point with the fact that Social media give the students the opportunity to practice the language due to the motivating and helpful environment it provides. Another key thing to remember is that teachers regard Virtual Classroom as a very successful experience and would enhance the student learning and speaking abilities through the conversations conducted with native speakers of English. Similarly, teachers do agree that Social media can be used at university to improve speaking and listening as well. The main challenge, however, lies at the pedagogic strategies that should be followed in order to implement Social media and how they can best be employed, not to mention the availability of necessary equipment.

The intensive use of Social media by students should not be looked at only as a negative process. To put it another way, Social media has become a daily habit among students and the integration of online conversations in English class should provide an atmosphere of enjoyment as well as keep the student in the right path towards improving his/her own skills. Students on their part are familiar with the influence of Social media. They use them for various purposes ranging from education to communication and entertainment. Significantly, if these purposes were achieved in the target language (English) the students' proficiency in speaking would witness a remarkable progress. WhatsApp and Telegram have got tremendous popularity among students and this makes a lot of sense because Messenger is an additional tool and connected to the most used Social media all over the world that is Facebook. The research has revealed that English is the most used language among students when using Social media with a challenging degree of use of mother tongue as well and maybe that is exactly the reason why the improvement is seen with Virtual Classroom students and not with other students. In the Virtual Classroom, the use of Social media is guided and conducted to speak only English and not other languages. In a question designed for students about the use of Social media to improve speaking most students welcomed the thought and claimed its effectiveness in learning. Likewise, students believe that talking to native speakers is the best method to benefit from Social media in addition to implementing them in research and communication.

Improving the speaking skill is a hard task for foreign language learners. It requires some strategy and experience to produce the language strictly and understand the intended meanings of other speakers. According to many teachers the best way to do that is; to encourage some new strategies inside or outside the classroom, since learners do not use foreign language frequently in their daily life outside the classroom (Alexiou & Fotini, 2010; Namaziandost & Nasri, 2019; Namaziandost, Rahimi Esfahani, Nasri, & Mirshekaran, 2018). Our study has been focused on the effectiveness of the use of Social media to improve EFL learners speaking skill. So, this study was composed of two parts (Theoretical, Practical part). The theoretical part was an overview on Social media, and the Speaking skill, including the main titles and types of each variable in order to give a clear idea about each one and the relation between them. The practical part of this study was an analysis in order to confirm the results that have been obtained from

both students and teachers' questionnaire. The findings went hand in hand with our hypothesis which emphasize that learners will enhance their speaking skill if they use Social media in an appropriate way.

The aim of this study was to investigate if there are any positive effects or influence of Social media on EFL learners speaking skill and determine to what extent Social media can be an assistant for the teachers to improve their courses of speaking activities in order to encourage their learners to participate and improve their speaking skill, because the majority of students want to use these aids in the classroom continuously in order to avoid the bored study and make them motivated to participate in speaking activities.

Above all, it is worth explaining that Social media cannot be regarded only as an entertaining tool, they rather play a principal role in the field of education and research, the presence of Social media has changed some of the aspects in the teacher and the learner roles towards clarity and flexibility and therefore, instructors may be looking forward to implement different pedagogies so as to keep up with the technological advancements.

The present section is entirely devoted to state some possible recommendations and suggestions regarding the employment of Social media as a learning material to develop learners' speaking abilities. EFL teachers on the other hand need to assign their learners with tasks that help them communicate and learn with one another. Likewise, technology might be a convenient means to fulfill such goal. The general findings of the current study revealed that the use of Social media is becoming broader and broader among learners as well as teachers. They both make use of it in different fields to achieve different goals including educational ones. Besides the fact that Social media provide time and shorten the distances, they create a relaxing context for learners to talk freely and express their ideas without any fear of embarrassment or lack of confidence. Therefore, they help the learners to overcome many speaking difficulties and boost their speaking skill.

After the analysis of the findings obtained students and teachers' questionnaires, we suggest the following recommendations:

For teachers:

- Teachers are advised to use Social media in preparing classroom speaking activities.
- Teachers should encourage their students to be exposed to authentic language through Social media.
- Teachers should exploit videos from Social media in their courses in order to enhance learners' motivation to speak.
- For students:
- Students should use Social media appropriately in order to develop their speaking skill.
- Students should communicate with native speakers in order to develop their speaking skill.
- Students should be interested with such material because they will help them in learning English language with new technology.
- Students should benefit from watching Social media' video courses, and using Various Social media.

For Administration:

- The administration should provide the necessary materials that are required to promote the speaking ability.
- Social media should be supposed to be as a strategy in teaching the oral courses.

Above all, technology and Social media in particular can be used to enrich learners' speaking abilities. Teachers then need to be flexible to their students' needs, and provide as much as space for the students to express their ideas and develop their oral competence. The investigator has tried to present some suggestions that may help in the development of EFL teaching and learning. He has also proposed some practical activities that at the classroom concerning the use of Social media in education. All things considered, it seems reasonable to assume that what brings Social media to the forefront of educational interest is the highly sophisticated delivery and interactivity now available with technological learning. In oral production courses, technology should hold a prominent place. Similarly, Teachers should have the competency required for building and operating technology based courses to achieve the designed objectives. With proper use, technology offers a way to create or construct learning opportunities unlike ever before available.

To sum up, this extended essay has led to conclude that EFL teachers should consider the usefulness of Social media in higher education without ignoring the contribution of the traditional methods and techniques. The integration of Social media in EFL context will provide access to increase the language activities and even more, to enhance the student's motivation to learn speaking which is believed to be the main factor that lacks the traditional classroom. Without a shadow of doubt, the frequent communication with native speakers around the world by means of Social media would improve the student speaking as well as listening skills. Therefore, it became a necessity to give technology its fair share of importance in EFL context.

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Unique and Anaphoric Definiteness in the *Bangla* DP

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maximality

ABSTRACT

The argument of this paper centres on the various interpretations of definiteness derived from the merge or the moved position of the NP and the presence or the absence of the demonstrative in the Bangla DP. As noted in the Bangla DP literature, in a Dem-less DP the NP in its merge position expresses indefiniteness, and the NP raised above the numeral-classifier expresses definiteness. I suggest that the raising of the NP is an instance of topicalisation which in turn realizes its definite reading. I propose the existence of a topic position below the D in the Bangla DP where the definite reading is achieved. Drawing upon Schwarz' (2009, 2013) proposal that definiteness can be of two types: unique and anaphoric, I show that Bangla seems to fall into this paradigm of definiteness. I further show that unique definiteness and anaphoric definiteness are separately morphologically represented (respectively) by two demonstratives in the Bangla DP.

This in turn leads to the proposal that these two definites are expressed in two separate syntactic positions.

1. Introduction

In Bangla, the Dem(onstrative) may or may not occur in the DP. When the Dem occurs both the non-raised and the raised NP orders ((1) and (2) respectively) express definiteness (Dayal 2012, Syed 2016).

1. oi du-To (lal) jama
 that two-Cla (red) dress
 'those two (red) dresses'
2. oi (lal) jama du-To
 that (red) dress two-Cla
 'those two (red) dresses'

In the absence of the Dem, the NP in its merge position, cf. (3) gives an indefinite reading (Bhattacharya 1999; Dasgupta and Ghosh 2007; Chacón 2011; Dayal 2012; Biswas 2012; Syed 2016). But the raised NP above Num-Cla in (4) gives a specific reading (Bhattacharya 1999), or

a definite reading (Dasgupta and Ghosh 2007; Chacón 2011; Dayal 2012; Biswas 2012; Syed 2016).

3. du-To (lal) jama
two-Cla red dress
'two red dresses'
4. (lal) jama du-To
red dress two-Cla
'the two red dresses'

In this paper I will propose a new approach to the existing arguments regarding definiteness in the Bangla DP. I will show that the DPs in (1), (2), and (4) are ambiguous between two types of definite readings: unique definiteness and anaphoric definiteness. I will also claim that the two types of definites are morphologically realized by two demonstratives in Bangla and those two Dems are merged in separate syntactic heads. This further leads to the argument that the unique and anaphoric definiteness are licensed in two separate syntactic positions in the Bangla nominal domain.

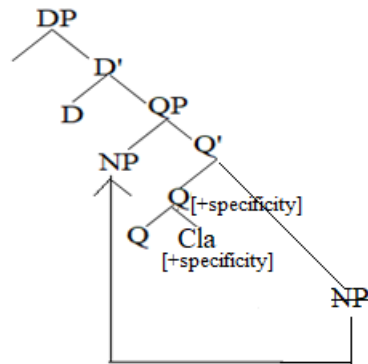
This paper is divided into five sections. The second section reviews the specific/definite in the Bangla DP, as discussed in the Bangla DP literature. In the third section I show that the definiteness in the Bangla DP can be interpreted in two ways: unique definiteness and anaphoric definiteness. I assume that the anaphoric definiteness can be tied to the concept of topicalisation and this leads to the proposal for the existence of a topic projection below the D in the Bangla DP. In the same section, I also claim that the two types of definites are morphologically realized by the two demonstratives in Bangla and those two Dems are merged in separate syntactic heads. This further leads to the argument that the unique definiteness and the anaphoric definiteness are licensed in two separate syntactic positions in the Bangla DP. In the fourth section I show that the topic position where the NP moves to is below D and not above it. The fifth section summarizes the main arguments of the chapter.

2. Specificity vs. Definiteness driven NP movement in the Bangla DP

Bhattacharya (1999) assumes that the Q(uantifier) in the Bangla DP to be a complex head consisting of the Q/Num(eral) and Cla(ssifier). To account for the order in (4), which is repeated below in (5), Bhattacharya proposes that there is a specificity feature in the Q head which gets realized in the morphologically present Cla, as shown in (6). He suggests that the specificity feature in the Cla attracts the NP to the Spec QP in order to give a specific reading, cf. (6).

5. (lal) jama du-To
red dress two-Cla
'the two red dresses'

6.



Bhattacharya shows that the morphological absence of classifier and the absence of the raising of the NP are correlated, cf. (7) and (8). The data in (7) is from Bhattacharya (1999; p. 95, 96; exs 68c, 70c) and the data in (8) is from Bhattacharya (1999; p. 95, 96; exs 68d, 70d).

7a. tin bOchor

three year
'three years'

b. *bOchor tin
year three
Lit. 'years three'

8a. car paS

four side
'four sides'

b. *paS car
side four
Lit. 'sides four'

It should be obvious from (3) which is repeated below in (9) where the NP is left in its merge position, that the morphological presence of the classifier does not necessarily drag the NP to the left of Num-Cla.

9. du-To (lal) jama
two-Cla red dress
'two red dresses'

Bhattacharya (1999) therefore assumes that "the option of assigning the strong specificity feature to the Cla may or may not be exercised. But once such feature assignment has taken place, there is no further choice. The complement NP must prepose overtly to check this strong feature" (p. 97).

Later, Chacón (2011) points out that the occurrence of the classifier in the indefinite DP, as in (9), where the NP is left in its merge position, argues that the classifier cannot be the attractor of the NP in the derived order NP>Num-Cla.¹ He, therefore, proposes that the NP moves above Num-Cla to check a definiteness feature and not specificity. He suggests that the D⁰ hosts the feature [definite] which triggers the NP to move to Spec, DP, and not to the Spec, QP as Bhattacharya (1999) proposes. As for the ungrammaticality of (7b) and (8b) Chacón offers an alternative analysis. He claims that a nominalizer *n* merges with the lexical nominal root to form *nP* and it is the *nP* (and not the nominal root) which moves to Spec, DP to check definiteness. Chacón claims that the nominalizer *n* does not merge with certain nominal roots (like measure words), as in (7) and (8), and thus there is no *nP* which can move to check definiteness. This explains the ungrammaticality of the orders in (7b) and (8b).²

Dayal (2012) also argues that the raised NP order above numeral-classifier, as shown in (5), gives a definite reading and not a specific reading. In fact, Dayal shows that the non-raised NP order (Num-Cla>NP) is ambiguous between regular indefinite and specific indefinite readings, cf. (10a), and the raised NP order (NP>Num-Cla) has a definite reading (10b). The examples in (10) are from Dayal (2012; p. 12; exs 16a, 16b).

- 10a. jodi du to tʰatro afe , ami parabo
 if two CL student come I will teach
 ‘If two students come, I will teach.’
- b. jodi tʰatro du to afe, ami parabo
 if student two CL come I will teach
 ‘If the two students come, I will teach.’

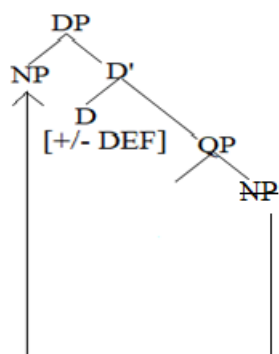
Dayal mentions that (10a) can mean that the speaker will teach if there is more than one student, whosoever the students are. This gives the regular indefinite reading. It can also mean that the speaker will teach if two particular students come, and the hearer does not necessarily know about them. This gives the specific indefinite reading. But, (10b) can only be uttered in a situation where the referent of the raised NP is known to both speaker and hearer. Similar to Chacón’s analysis, Dayal also suggests that the D⁰ to be +/- definite and the NP raises to Spec, DP to value the + definite feature of the D⁰, as can be seen in (11).

¹ Referring to Dasgupta (1997), Chacón (2011: 10; (15)) also shows that the occurrence of classifier in ‘anti-definiteness’ (the term was originally used in Dasgupta (1997) as *antidéfinitude*) context. The NP>Cla order in (i) does not give definiteness reading. In (i), *lebu-Ta* ‘lemon-Cla’ and *lanka-Ta* ‘chilli-Ta’ do not refer to lemon and chilli respectively. They refer to vegetables in general.

i. poSir kache lebu-Ta lanka-Ta cee newa
 neighbour from lemon-Cla chilli-Cla wanting take
 ‘borrowing (some vegetables) from a neighbour’

² Chacon, also, argues that in classifier less DPs (like (7a) and (8a)) there is N to Cla movement. He states that this N to Cla movement happens due to interface reason. Since the nominalizer *n* does not merge with the nominal root (denoting measure words and time span), the nominal root merges with the phonetically null Cla⁰ in order to be interpreted at PF.

11.



2.1 Maximality/Inclusiveness driven NP movement in the Bangla DP

Dayal (2012) and Syed (2016) points out that both the non-raised and the raised NP orders in the presence of the Dem give definite interpretations (as shown in (1) and (2), repeated below in (12) and (13) respectively).

12. oi du -To (lal) jama
 that two -Cla red dress
 ‘those two red dresses’

13. oi (lal) jama du -To
 that red dress two -Cla
 ‘those two red dresses’

Bhattacharya (1999) differentiates the non-raised NP order in (12) and the raised NP order in (13) in the presence of the Dem in terms of deixis (in (12)) and specificity (in (13)). Dayal suggests that the difference between both the orders in (12) and (13) is that the raised NP in the presence of the Dem (13) gives a maximality interpretation which is not available in the non-raised NP order (12). Dayal (2012; p. 14) points out “(t)he raised version is only possible when the NP refers to the full set of entities that the description applies to. In contrast, the base structure can be used to pick out a subset of a larger group of entities to which the description applies.” She illustrates her argument with the support of a context (in (14)), which is from Dayal (2012; p. 14; ex. 20). She points out that in (14b) where the NP has raised signifies “there are only two types of red flowers, the roses and carnations.” Whereas, (14c) where the NP remains in its merge position shows that “(t)he speaker may be picking out the roses and the carnations from a set of red flowers that include several others.”

- 14a. kon phul -Ta Sundor
 which flower -Cla beautiful
 ‘Which of the flowers are beautiful?’

- b. oi lal phul du -To
 that red flower two -Cla

- c. oi du -To lal phul
 that two -Cla red flower
 ‘Those two red flowers’

Dayal (2012; p. 23) therefore notes in conclusion that there are three possibilities through which definiteness in the Bangla DP is achieved: “One, through the lexical meaning of the demonstrative taking the predicative cardinality/classifier phrase as its argument, or through NP raising to spec of DP to value the +def feature on D and undergoing iota type shift, or through a combination of the two.”

Syed (2016; 2017) suggests that it is the inclusiveness that attracts NP above Num-Cla in the presence of demonstrative (Syed (2016; p. 391; fn. 2) relates inclusiveness to maximality). Syed (2016) explains inclusiveness in reference to Hawkins (1978): “the referent of definite noun phrase must be a part of a shared set, where shared set means entities known by speaker and hearer to constitute either the previous discourse, the immediate or the larger situation, or an association set” (p. 391). Syed (2017) further states that “(f)or definites, the reference is to the only entity or all the entities in the shared set. Otherwise, it will be an indefinite expression. That is inclusiveness is necessary for getting a definite interpretation” (p. 129). Renaat Declerck (1986; p. 12) while discussing ‘familiarity theory’ (by Christophersen (1939)) and ‘location theory’ (by Hawkins (1978)) in definiteness, mentions that the NPs with definite article should always have inclusive reference. To define inclusiveness, he quotes Hawkins (1978): “inclusive refer to the totality of the objects or mass in the relevant shared set.”

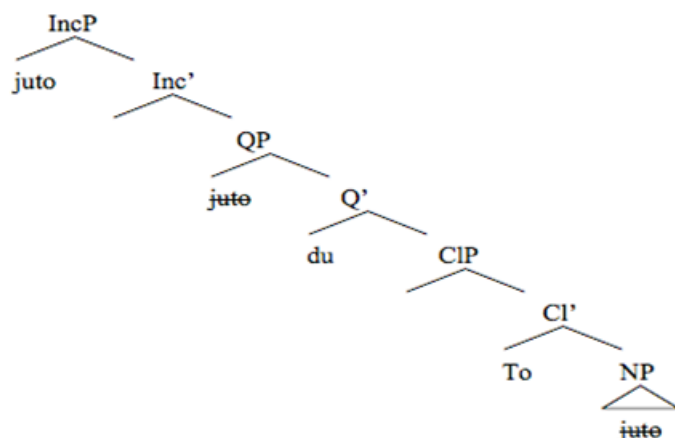
Syed illustrates the contrast between the raised and the non-raised NP orders in the presence of the Dem by putting forth a context in (15), where he shows that the raised NP order is felicitous, cf. (15a), and the non-raised NP order is infelicitous (15b). The NP raised order in (15a) suggests that only four shoes were brought and the non-raised order in (15b) suggests that there may be many more shoes bought. The context and the data in (15) is from Syed (2016; p. 391; ex 6).

15. Context: the speaker bought four shoes yesterday and the hearer knows about it.

- a. oi juto char -te pherot diye diy.ech.i
 those shoes four -Cla return give give.perf.1st per
 ‘I have returned those four shoes.’
- b. # oi char -te juto pherot diye diy.ech.i
 those four -Cla shoes return give give.perf.1st per

Based on his analysis of (15), Syed postulates an Inc(lusive) P(hrase) right above the numeral-classifier in the Bangla DP where the NP raises to in order to give an inclusive/maximality interpretation, as shown in (16) which is from Syed (2016; p. 395).

16.



3. Two types of Definiteness

So far we have noticed that there are three DP-internal word orders in Bangla that give definite readings. The first one is the raised NP order in the absence of the Dem, i.e., the (A)>N>Num-Cla order, cf. (4) which is repeated below in (17).

17. (lal) jama du -To
 red dress two -Cla
 'the two red dresses'

The second one is the non-raised NP order in the presence of the Dem, i.e., the Dem>Num-Cla>(A)>N order, cf. (1) which is repeated below in (18).

18. oi du -To (lal) jama
 that two -Cla red dress
 'those two red dresses'

The third one is the raised NP order in the presence of the Dem, i.e., the Dem>(A)>N>Num-Cla order, cf. (2) which is repeated below in (19).

19. oi (lal) jama du -To
 that red dress two -Cla
 'those two red dresses'

There happen to be cross-linguistic evidence which show that definiteness can be interpreted in two ways: unique definiteness and anaphoric definiteness, as noted in Schwarz (2009, 2013). The unique definite noun phrase refers to the entity that is uniquely identifiable by the speaker/hearer in the current discourse or larger discourse, and prior mention of the entity is not required to identify it. Whereas, the anaphoric definite noun phrase requires the referred entity to be mentioned in the previous discourse and should be familiar to the speaker and hearer. Schwarz notices that in languages like German, Fering, Akan, Mauritian Creole, Lakhota, Hausa, and Haitian Creole there are two types of definite articles that are licensed in separate

environments. He shows that the weak definite article is licensed in the uniqueness definite context, and the strong article is licensed in the anaphoric definite context.

Jenks (2015) notices that even the numeral-classifier languages (like Thai, Mandarin Chinese, Korean, Japanese) show difference between the definite noun phrases licensed by uniqueness and the ones licensed by anaphoricity. He shows that in the numeral-classifier languages, unique definites are expressed by bare nouns, cf. (20), and anaphoric definites are expressed by demonstrative or pronoun, cf. (21b). In fact, bare nouns are not allowed in the anaphoric context, as can be seen in (21c). The example in (20) is from Jenks (2015; p. 108; ex 10) and the examples in (21) are from Jenks (2015; p. 113; ex 17).

20. mʼaa kamləŋ həw
 dog PROG bark
 ‘The dog is barking.’

- 21a. Miawaan phom cəə kap nakrian khon niŋ
 Yesterday 1ST meet with student CLA INDEF
 ‘Yesterday I met a student.’

- b. (nakrian) khon nan/ (khaw) chalaat maak
 student CLA that/ 3P clever very
 ‘That student/(s)he was very clever.’

- c. #nakrian chalaat maak
 student clever very
 ‘Students are clever.’

In this section I will argue that in Bangla definiteness is interpreted as unique and anaphoric. I assume that the raised NP order in the absence of the Dem ((A)>N>Num-Cla), cf. (17), is ambiguous between unique definiteness and anaphoric definiteness. I will also claim that in Bangla the unique and the anaphoric definiteness is lexically instantiated in the form of two demonstratives. Following this claim I will suggest that in the context of certain Dem which is the morphological representation of unique definiteness, both the non-raised and the raised NP orders, i.e., Dem>Num-Cla>(A)>N and Dem>(A)>N>Num-Cla respectively, will express unique definiteness. Again, in the context of some other Dem which is the morphological representation of anaphoric definiteness, both the non-raised and the raised NP orders will express anaphoric definiteness.

Here, I will make a novel claim that in the Bangla DP the anaphoric definiteness is an instance of topicalisation. This will further lead to the proposal that there exists a post-demonstrative topic projection in the Bangla DP. This section is divided into four sub-sections. In the first sub-section I will discuss the properties of topics and anaphoric definites, and I will suggest that the raising of the NP in order to express anaphoric definiteness is an instance of topicalized movement in the Bangla DP. In the second sub-section I will argue that the raised NP order in the absence of the Dem, i.e., the (A)>N>Num-Cla order, expresses both anaphoric

definiteness and unique definiteness. In the third sub-section I will illustrate the claim for the lexical instantiation of the two types of definiteness in Bangla. In the fourth sub-section, we will discuss the licensing position of the two types of definites.

3.1 Anaphoric definites are Topics in the Bangla DP

Anaphoric definiteness and topicalization: both of these concepts pick out the reference of the NP from a shared set that is available in the discourse participants' mind. I draw my argument for tying anaphoric definite to topic from some well known Topic/Focus literature (Kiss (2007); Gundel and Fretheim (2008); and Jayaseelan (2001)), where it is discussed that definites and topics share the same property, and thus be understood as the same notion. I should mention here that in the aforementioned referred works, definiteness has been treated as anaphoric definiteness and not unique definiteness. Thus, in this sub-section when we come across the term definite it should be understood as anaphoric definite.

It has been claimed in Kiss (2007; p. 70, 71) that “names, definite noun phrases, and specific indefinites noun phrases (or PP subsuming such a noun phrase) are all possible topics, irrespective of their subject, object, or prepositional object status.” Gundel and Fretheim (2008) draw a connection between topic and definiteness, as they mention “it has often been noted (references omitted) that the phrase marked by a topic marker in Japanese and Korean, necessarily has a ‘definite’ (including generic) interpretation.” They show that when the subject is followed by the NOM marker *ga*, both the subject and the object can be interpreted a definite and indefinite, cf. (22). But when the subject is followed by the topic marker *wa*, the subject can only be interpreted as definite, cf. (23). The example in (22) is from Gundel and Fretheim (2008; p. 4; ex 6) and the example in (23) is from Gundel and Fretheim (2008; p. 5; ex 7).

22. Neko ga kingyo o ijit -te
 cat NOM goldfish OBJ play with -and
 ‘The/A cat is playing with the/a goldfish, and’
23. Neko wa kingyo o ijit -te
 cat TOP goldfish OBJ play with -and
 ‘The/*A cat is playing with the/a goldfish, and’

Also, notice the following set of English data in (24)-(27), which are from Gundel and Fretheim (2008; p. 5; exs 8, 9, 10, 11), where the topicalized phrase adjoined to the left of the clause is definite.

24. My sister, she’s a High School teacher.
25. That book you borrowed, are you finished reading it yet?
26. My work, I’m going crazy. (Bland 1981)
27. The Red Sox, did they play the Yankees?

The syntactic position that corresponds to topicalized interpretation is never occupied by an indefinite noun phrase, cf. (28b). Gundel and Fretheim (2008; p. 5) states that the “(i)ndefinites are generally excluded from topic position unless they can be interpreted generically”. This is evident in (28) which is from Gundel and Fretheim (2008; p. 5; ex 12) and originally from Gundel (1988).

28a. The window, it's still open.

b. *A window, it's still open.

Jayaseelan (2001), also, mentions the same about the indefinites not occupying the topic position. He refers to Tirumalesh (1996) who first pointed out that in Dravidian, the elements to the right of V are Topics; and indefinite noun phrases are unacceptable in that position. The noun phrase occupying a topic position refers to the entity that is familiar and identifiable to the discourse participants. A topic is old information available in the discourse and present in the speaker/hearer's mind, and thus should be definite. As Jayaseelan (2001; p. 46) points out "(i)n fact, we shall be arguing that the leftward movements showing a definiteness/specificity effect in Scandinavian, Dutch, or Yiddish are instances of topicalization – specifically, of movement into TopPs above FP."

Notice the following Malayalam data in (29), which is from Jayaseelan (2001; p. 49; ex 23), where the canonical position (immediately pre-verbal position) of *weLLam* 'water' in (102a) gives an indefinite interpretation. Whereas, in (29b) the non-canonical position of *weLLam* (preposed above the indirect object) gives an obligatory definite interpretation. Jayaseelan (2001) mentions that "(t)his definiteness constraint on *weLLam* in the (b) sentence is explained if it is a Topic" (p. 49).

- 29a. naan oru maratt -ina weLLam ozhiccu
 I a tree -dat. water poured
 'I poured water to a tree.'
- b. naan weLLam oru maratt -ina ozhiccu
 I water a tree -dat. poured
 'I poured the water to a tree.'

In Bangla also we have noticed that the NP in its merge position inside the DP gives an indefinite reading, as shown in (3) which is repeated below in (30a). Whereas, the raised NP above the Num-Cla gives an anaphoric definite reading, cf. (4) which is repeated below in (30b).

- 30a. du -To (lal) jama
 two -Cla red dress
 'two red dresses'
- b. (lal) jama du -To
 red dress two -Cla
 'the two red dresses'

I suggest that the NP movement above Num-Cla in (30b) is an instance of DP-internal topicalized movement and thus in turn gives an anaphoric definite interpretation. I propose that in the order (A)>N>Num-Cla, cf. (30b), the NP moves to the Spec of a Topic Phrase inside the Bangla DP, and not to the Spec, QP (as suggested by Bhattacharya (1999)) or to the Spec, DP (as

suggested by Chacón (2011), Dayal (2012), Biswas (2012)). I assume the topic position where the NP moves to in the (A)>N>Num-Cla order is below the Dem and not above it. This assumption will be supported with empirical evidence in the fourth section of the paper.

3.2 Unique and Anaphoric Definiteness in the Bangla DP

In Bangla, like the languages mentioned in Schwarz (2009, 2013) and Jenks (2015), definiteness can be expressed in two ways, either as unique or as anaphoric. Biswas (2012) shows that in Bangla, bare nouns are used to express unique definiteness, cf. (31), and the raised NP order around the bare classifier is used to express anaphoric definiteness, cf. (32b). The example in (31) is from Biswas (2012; ex 6b) and the examples in (32) are from Biswas (2012; ex 4).

31. rasTropoti -(Ta) Santisthapon -er barta dilen
 president -(Cla) make peace -GEN message gave
 ‘The President sent a message of peace.’

- 32a. gOtokal {ekTa chele-r / #chele-Ta-r} Sathe alap holo
 yesterday {one-cla boy-gen boy-cla-gen} with meet was
 ‘I met a boy yesterday.’

- b. {chele-Ta / #Ek-Ta chele} triathlon champion
 {boy-cla / one-cla boy} triathlon champion

In (32b) the raised NP order is felicitous and not the non-raised one. Since the referent of the NP *chele* ‘boy’ has already been mentioned in the discourse in (32a), thus the non-raised NP order in (32b) is infelicitous as it gives indefinite reading and the NP obligatorily moves to the left of the bare classifier *-Ta*³ to give an anaphoric definite reading. The claim that the raised NP order expresses anaphoric definiteness in the Bangla DP is evident from (32a) where the raising of the NP around the bare classifier *-Ta* is infelicitous as (32a) begins the discourse. In (31) the bare

³ Notice that in (108b), when the NP raises to the left of Num-Cla the numeral ‘one’ does not surface. Bhattacharya (1999: p. 92; fn. 55) shows that the occurrence of NP to the left of *ek-Ta* ‘one-Cla’ forces the numeral ‘one’ not to surface, as can be seen in (ic).

- i. a. Ek-Ta boi b. boi-Ta c. *boi Ek-Ta
 One-Cla book book-Cla book one-Cla
 ‘A book’ ‘The book’

Bhattacharya suggests that in (ib) the numeral ‘one’ is silent and in indefinite description (as in (ia)) the numeral ‘one’ must surface for PF reasons since the Cla requires something to be cliticized to its left. Thus, bare classifier cannot occur in Bangla DP, as can be seen in (ii), which is noted in Dayal (2012) and Biswas (2012).

- ii. a. *-Ta boi b. boi -Ta
 -Cla book book -Cla
 ‘the book’

Dayal (2012) also argues that in the order in (iib) there is a null numeral ‘one’ as evident from the singularity interpretation in (iib).

nominal refers to some unique entity which is identifiable to the speaker and hearer in larger situation. Thus the bare nominal in (31) expresses unique definiteness. Here, I suggest that the bare noun in (31) which is a common noun but it functions as a proper noun which is unique in all real world contexts. Notice that in (31), the classifier *-Ta* is not allowed. In fact, if *-Ta* is used in (31) it will bring some pejorative connotation (as mentioned by Biswas (2012)). Later, Simpson and Biswas (2016) suggests that the human referents with [+honorific] feature do not occur with the classifier.

So far we have noticed that the raised NP order gives an anaphoric definite reading. Here, I will suggest that the raised NP order in the Bangla DP is not strictly used to express anaphoric definiteness. I assume that the raised NP order is ambiguous between unique and anaphoric definite readings. Consider the DP in (33) where the NP has raised to the left of Num-Cla pied-piping the AP.⁴ The raised NP order in (33) can be used in a situation where the referent of the NP has not been mentioned in prior and it is identifiable to the speaker and the hearer in the immediate discourse. Imagine a situation where X and her friend bought a few dresses, and they show them to Y. Y asks X ‘which dresses did you buy?’ To which X replies *lal jama du-To kinlam* ‘I bought the two red dresses.’ There *lal jama du-To* refers to a unique entity in the current situation that matches the description of the definite noun phrase. The DP with the raised NP in (33) can also be used in anaphoric contexts, as shown in (34).

33. [lal jama du -To] kinlam
red dress two -Cla bought
‘I bought the two red dresses.’

34. Gatokal [du -To lal jama] pachondo hoyechilo.
yesterday two -Cla red dress like happened
[lal jama du -To] kinlam
red dress two -Cla bought
‘Yesterday I liked two red dresses. I bought those two red dresses.’

Simpson and Biswas (2016; p. 174; ex 16) also seem to have recognized the point that the raised NP order around the bare classifier can express unique definiteness, cf. (35). They mention that the raised NP order in (35) refers to an individual/entity that is “clearly visible to the speaker and the hearer, and the speaker draws attention to the presence of the referent, for example by pointing or, directing the hearer to look at the referent.”

35. Ramu and his son are repairing a bicycle. Ramu points to a hammer and says:

⁴ In Bangla, the NP cannot move leaving the AP stranded (i), or the AP cannot move leaving the NP stranded (ii). In the presence of the AP the NP has to move pied-piping the AP (iii). For details see Guha (2017).

- i. *[jama du-To lal] kinlam
dress two-Cla red bought
ii. *[lal du-To jama] kinlam
red two-Cla dress bought
iii. [lal jama du-To] kinlam
red dress two-Cla bought

ama-ke	hatuRi-Ta	de	to
I-ACC	Hammer-Cla	give	TOP

‘Pass me the hammer.’

Simpson and Biswas have shown that the two types of definiteness in Bangla are differentiated by the contexts (for a detail understanding see Simpson and Biswas (2016)). Here, I assume that the unique and the anaphoric definiteness are licensed in two separate syntactic positions inside the Bangla nominal domain. In fact, I will claim that the unique definite and the anaphoric definite are morphologically represented by two demonstratives in Bangla. This will further lead to the proposal for the existence of two separate syntactic heads in the Bangla DP, one of which will carry unique definite feature and the other will carry anaphoric definite feature.

3.3 Deictic and Anaphoric Demonstratives in the Bangla DP

It is well known that in Bangla there are three demonstratives: *ei* ‘this’, *oi* (distal ‘that’), and *Sei* (anaphoric ‘that’). It can be shown that the proximal Dem *ei* has [+Deictic] and [-Anaphoric] features. The sequent Dem *Sei*⁵ has [+Anaphoric] and [-Deictic] features. The distal Dem *oi* can either have [+Deictic] or [+Anaphoric] feature.

In Bangla the demonstratives are derived from the pronouns (Bhattacharya (1999), and Dasgupta (1992)), as can be seen in (36) which is from Bhattacharya (1999; p.117, ex 30).

- | | | | | |
|------|-------------------|-----------------|------------------|---------------|
| 36a. | e | o | Se | [+pronominal] |
| b. | ei | oi | Sei | [-pronominal] |
| | ‘this (proximal)’ | ‘that (distal)’ | ‘that (sequent)’ | |

Here, I shall claim that the proximal Dem *ei* is the lexical instantiation of the unique definiteness and the sequent Dem *Sei* is the lexical instantiation of the anaphoric definiteness. And the distal Dem *oi* can either give unique definite reading or anaphoric definite reading. I, mainly, identify the unique definiteness with the deictic feature of the Dems *ei* and *oi*. It is instructive to note that the three Dems in Bangla have not received equal mention in the Bangla DP literature. The Dem *oi* or the Dem *Sei* has been used to demonstrate the definiteness of the DP. The contexts in which these two Dems have been used in the literature are anaphoric and thus the Dem *ei* (based on its feature composition) cannot be used in such contexts. Recall that the Dem *ei* has [+deictic] and [-anaphoric] features. I suggest that the Dem *ei*, like the Dems *oi* and *Sei*, can express definiteness, but it expresses only unique definite reading and not anaphoric definite reading (based on its features). Thus it can be used in out of the blue contexts, cf. (37), and it cannot be used when preceded by a context, cf. (38).

- | | | | | | | | |
|-------|--|-----|------|-----|-------|------|-----------|
| 37.a. | [ei | du | -To | lal | jama] | khub | dami |
| | this | two | -Cla | red | dress | very | expensive |
| | ‘These two red dresses (here) are very expensive.’ | | | | | | |
| b. | [ei | lal | jama | du | -To] | khub | dami |

⁵ It was Dagupta (1992) who termed the Dem *Sei* as sequent and pointed out that it is a non-deictic demonstrative

this red dress two -Cla very expensive
 ‘These two red dresses (here) are very expensive.’

In (37a) and (37b) the usage of the Dem *ei* brings definiteness. I suggest that the definiteness in (37) arises from uniqueness, and not anaphoricity. The deictic Dem in (37) picks out the referent of the NP from the set that is available in the current discourse and is identifiable to the speaker and the hearer either by visibility or pointing. Thus the deictic Dem *ei* in (37) expresses the unique definite reading both for the non-raised NP order in (37a) and the raised NP order in (37b).

Now consider (38b) and (38c) where the usage of the deictic Dem *ei* is infelicitous since (38b) which is the non-raised NP order and (38c) which is the raised NP order, follow the discourse given in (38a).

- 38.a. Gatokal [du -To lal jama] kinlam
 yesterday two -Cla red dress bought
 ‘Yesterday, I bought two red dresses.’
- b. #[ei du -To lal jama] khub dami
 this two -Cla red dress very expensive
 ‘These two red dresses are very expensive.’
- c. #[ei lal jama du -To] khub dami
 this red dress two -Cla very expensive
 ‘These two red dresses are very expensive.’

On the other hand, the Dem *Sei* due to its [+Anaphoric, -Deictic] features can only be used in anaphoric contexts, like the one in (39a), and in hand it expresses anaphoric definiteness. Thus both the orders in (39b) where the NP has not raised and in (39c) where the NP has raised, express anaphoric definiteness due to the presence of the Dem ‘*Sei*’.

- 39.a. Gatokal [du -To lal jama] kinlam
 yesterday two -Cla red dress bought
 ‘Yesterday, I bought two red dresses.’
- b. [sei du -To lal jama] khub dami
 that two -Cla red dress very expensive
- c. [sei lal jama du -To] khub dami
 that red dress two -Cla very expensive
 ‘Those two red dresses are very expensive.’

The Dem *Sei* cannot be used in the contexts where unique definiteness is intended, as can be seen in (40).

40. a. X and Y went for shopping. X points at two dresses and says to Y:
- b. #[sei du -To lal jama] khub dami

that two -Cla red dress very expensive

- c. #[sei lal jama du -To] khub dami
 that red dress two -Cla very expensive
 ‘Those two red dresses are very expensive.’

The Dem *oi* can be used either to express unique definiteness or anaphoric definiteness since the Dem *oi* hosts [+Deictic/+Anaphoric] feature. Thus the Dem *oi* can be used in anaphoric context, like (41a), and in turn expresses anaphoric definiteness, as can be seen in (41b) where the NP has not raised and in (41c) where the NP has raised. The Dem *oi* can also be used in an out of the blue context. But without a context, the Dem *oi* expresses unique definiteness. In (41b) and (41c) the referent of the NP can be picked from the immediate discourse and it can be identifiable to the speaker and the hearer either by pointing or visibility.

41. a. Gatokal [du -To lal jama] kinlam
 yesterday two -Cla red dress bought
 ‘Yesterday, I bought two red dresses.’
 b. [oi du -To lal jama] khub dami
 that two -Cla red dress very expensive
 c. [oi lal jama du -To] khub dami
 that red dress two -Cla very expensive
 ‘Those two red dresses are very expensive.’

The fact that we have noticed that the proximal Dem *ei* in Bangla cannot be used in anaphoric contexts, Jayaseelan and Hariprasad (2001) have also noticed that the proximal pronouns in Malayalam cannot be used in anaphoric context. The pronominals in Dravidian languages occur in proximal/distal pairs, cf. (42) which is from Jayaseelan and Hariprasad (2001; ex 1).

42. awan (‘that-he’) iwan (‘this-he’)
 awaL (‘that-she’) iwaL (‘this-she’)
 atə (‘that-it’) itə (‘this-it’)
 awar (‘those-they’) iwar (‘these-they’)

Based on their feature composition, the distal pronoun can refer to the antecedent that is distal in nature but the proximal pronoun cannot refer to the antecedent that is distal in nature, as shown in (43a) and (43b) respectively which are from Jayaseelan and Hariprasad (2001; exs 3d, 4d). Jayaseelan and Hariprasad claim that universally R-expressions are distal by default and thus the distal pronoun and the R-expression in (43a) can be co-referential, and the proximal pronoun and the R-expression in (43b) cannot be co-referential.

- 43.a. John_i wannu. awan_i waatil tuRannu
 John came he door opened

‘John_i came. He_i opened the door.’

b.*John_i wannu. iwan_i waatil tuRannu
 John came he door opened
 ‘John_i came. He_i opened the door.’

I will now show that the deictic and the anaphoric demonstratives in Bangla are merged in two separate syntactic heads inside the Bangla nominal domain. This will further lead us to argue that the unique and anaphoric definiteness are licensed in two separate syntactic positions in the Bangla DP.

3.4 Licensing positions of the unique and the anaphoric definites in the Bangla DP

I postulate two functional projections, DeixisP and TopP, above the QP and below the D inside the Bangla nominal domains. I suggest that the deictic Dem *ei* is merged in the Deixis⁰, as shown in (44), and the anaphoric Dem *Sei* is merged in the Top⁰, as shown in (45). The Dem *Sei* cannot be base generated in the Deixis⁰ as it lacks deictic feature, instead it can be argued that the Dem *Sei* behaves as a Topic marker as its morphological presence forces the anaphoric definite interpretation of the DP and thus it originates in the Topic⁰ inside the DP (45). Since the Dem *oi* has [+Deictic/+Anaphoric] feature, I suggest that the Dem *oi* can merge either in the Deixis⁰ or in the Topic⁰ (depending on the context), as shown in (46).

44. [DP [DeixisP [Deixis *ei*] [QP [NP]]]]
 45. [DP [TopP [Top *Sei*] [QP [NP]]]]
 46. i. [DP [DeixisP [Deixis *oi*] [QP [NP]]]]
 ii. [DP [TopP [Top *oi*] [QP [NP]]]]

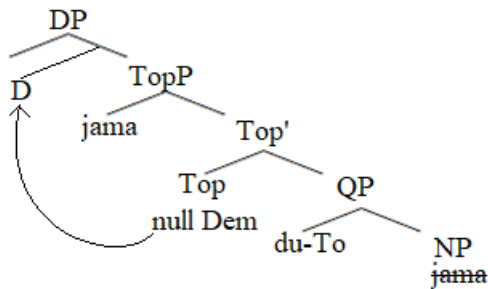
I will claim that the unique definiteness is expressed in the Deixis position and the anaphoric definiteness is expressed in the topic position in the Bangla DP. Before I start discussing the licensing positions of the unique and the anaphoric definites, I should mention that the demonstrative is always present in the Bangla DP, either as a null Dem (in case of Dem-less DPs), or as an overt Dem (in case of DPs with Dems). I suggest that the Dem (null or overt) with the [+Def] feature unifies with the null D which also has a [+Def] feature, and the Dem (null or overt) moves to the D. I assume this argument from Dasguta and Ghosh (2007, ex 10) where they show that the Dem and the null D are merged in separate syntactic projections in the Bangla/Assamese DP, and they assume that “Dem feature-unifies with D and in effect become a single hybrid head” (p. 3).

Let us first consider the raised NP order in the Dem-less DP. We will start with the NP>Num-Cla order in (47) which is ambiguous between unique and anaphoric definite readings.

47. jama du -To
 dress two -Cla
 ‘the two dresses’

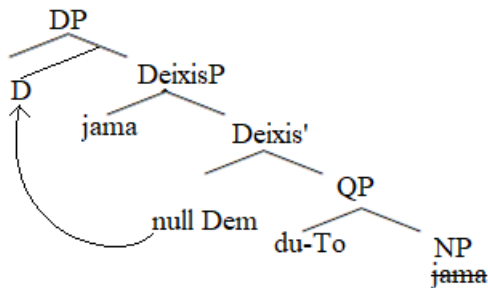
As I have already stated that the anaphoric definiteness is expressed in the topic position below the D, so I will assume that the NP *jama* ‘dress’ in (47) has moved to the Spec of the TopP below the D, as shown in (48). I have also claimed that the anaphoric definiteness is morphologically represented by the sequent Dem *Sei* and the merge position of the Dem *Sei* is in the Topic⁰ below the D, thus I suppose that the post-D Topic⁰, at the Spec of which the NP in (48) moves to, is filled with the null anaphoric Dem. In (48) the null anaphoric Dem with the [+Def] feature in the Topic⁰ unifies with the null D⁰ with the [+Def] feature, and then the null anaphoric Dem moves to the D⁰. I assume that the Topic⁰ in (48) has [+anaphoric] feature which is unvalued and it gets valued with the movement of the NP to its Spec.

48.



I have also suggested that the raised NP order in (47) can express unique definiteness. As I have already claimed that the unique definiteness is morphologically represented by the deictic Dem, thus I assume that there is a null deictic Dem in the Deixis⁰ and the NP in (47) moves to the Spec of the DeixisP in order to give unique definiteness reading, as shown in (49).

49.



In (49) the null deictic Dem with the [+Def] feature in the Deixis⁰ unifies with the null D⁰ which also carries a [+Def] feature, and then the null deictic Dem moves to the D⁰. I assume that the Deixis⁰ in (49) has [+deictic] feature which is unvalued and it gets valued with the movement of the NP to its Spec. This is how we get the unique definite reading of the DP in (47).

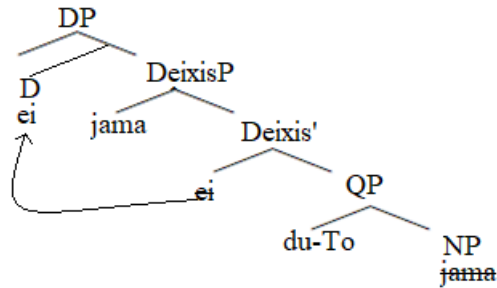
Let us now consider the raised NP orders in the presence of the overt Dem, i.e., the Dem>NP>Num-Cla order. I will begin with the deictic Dem *ei* in (50) which expresses only unique definite reading.

50. *ei* *jama* *du* *-To*
 this dress two -Cla
 ‘these two dresses’

The derivation of (50) is presented in (51). In (51) the [+deictic] feature of the Deixis⁰ gets valued by the merging of the overt deictic Dem *ei* in the Deixis⁰, which in turn gives the unique

definite reading of the DP in (50). The NP in (50) raises from its merge position to give a maximality interpretation. Here, I suggest that since definiteness is the property of maximality (as mentioned by Dayal (2012) and Syed (2016)) both can be interpreted in the same position. Thus I assume that the NP receives maximality interpretation in the DeixisP and in the TopicP below the D. In (50) the NP moves to the Spec of the DeixisP, as shown in (51), in order to be maximally interpreted. Further the overt deictic Dem *ei* with the [+Def] feature unifies with the null D with the [+Def] feature, and the overt deictic Dem moves to the D, as shown in (51).

51.

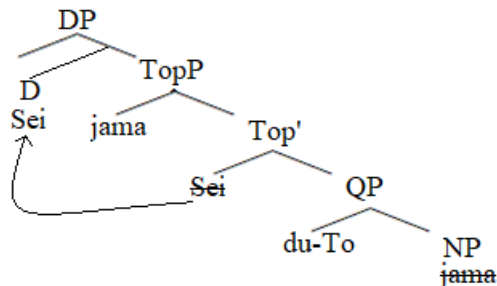


Now consider the Dem>NP>Num-Cla order in the presence of the overt anaphoric Dem ‘*Sei*’ in (52) which expresses only anaphoric definite reading.

52. *Sei* *jama* *du* -To
 that dress two -Cla
 ‘those two dresses’

The derivation of (52) is presented in (53). In (53) the [+anaphoric] feature of the Top⁰ gets valued by the merging of the anaphoric Dem *Sei* in the Top⁰, which in turn gives the anaphoric definite reading of the DP in (52). The NP in (52) moves from its merge position to the Spec of the TopP, as shown in (53), where it is interpreted maximally. Further the overt anaphoric Dem *Sei* with its [+Def] feature unifies with the null D with the [+Def] feature, and the overt anaphoric Dem moves to the D in (53) and that is how we get the order in (52).

53.

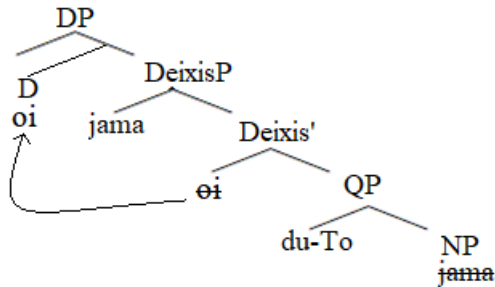


Now consider the Dem>NP>Num-Cla order in the presence of the overt anaphoric Dem *oi* in (54) which can express either unique definiteness, or anaphoric definiteness.

54. *oi* *jama* *du* -To
 that dress two -Cla
 ‘those two dresses’

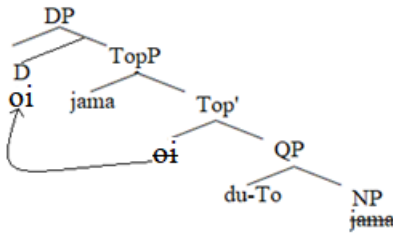
The unique definite reading of (54) is presented in (55). In (54) the Dem *oi* merges in the Deixis⁰, as shown in (55), which in turn values the [+deictic] feature of the Deixis⁰ and also expresses the unique definite reading of the DP in (54). The NP moves from its merge position to the Spec of the DeixisP where it is interpreted maximally. Further the overt Dem *oi* with the [+Def] feature unifies with the null D with the [+Def] feature, and the Dem moves to the D, as shown in (55).

55.



The distal Dem *oi* merges in the Topic⁰ above the DeixisP when it requires to be interpreted anaphorically, as shown in (56).

56.



The merging of the distal Dem *oi* to the Topic⁰ below the D in (56) gives the anaphoric definite interpretation of the DP in (54). The NP moves from its merge position to the Spec of TopP where it is interpreted maximally. Further the overt Dem *oi* with the [+Def] feature in the topic position unifies with the null D with the [+Def] feature, and then the Dem *oi* moves to the D, as shown in (56).

We have noticed in (50) that the overt proximal Dem *ei* expresses unique definiteness, the overt anaphoric Dem *Sei* in (52) expresses anaphoric definiteness, and the overt distal Dem *oi* in (54) can express either unique definiteness or anaphoric definiteness. We have also argued that these three Dems give definiteness reading by merging in their respective heads. I have further claimed that the Dem with its [+Def] feature unifies with the D which also carries the [+Def] feature and then the Dem moves to the D. I assume that the non-raised NP orders in the presence of the overt Dem *ei* in (57), *Sei* in (58), and *oi* in (59) receive definite interpretation in the same way the raised NP orders have received in (50), (52), and (54). The only difference between the non-raised and the raised NP orders will be that the NP in the non-raised orders in (57)-(59) do not receive maximality interpretation.

The DP in (57) expresses unique definiteness due to the presence of the proximal Dem *ei*. The DP in (58) expresses anaphoric definiteness due to the presence of the anaphoric Dem *Sei*. And the DP in (59) can express either unique definiteness or anaphoric definiteness due to the presence of the distal Dem *oi*.

57. ei du -To jama
 this two -Cla dress
 'these two dresses'

58. Sei du -To jama
 that two -Cla dress
 'those two dresses'

59. oi du -To jama
 that two -Cla dress
 'those two dresses'

4 NP movement to the post-Dem Topic position in the Bangla DP

Syed (2012) postulated pre-Dem Focus and Topic positions in the Bangla nominal domain, cf. (60). In this paper, I have proposed for a second Topic projection, i.e., below the Dem, cf. (61).

60. [TopP [FocP [Dem]

61. [TopP [FocP [Dem [TopP]

Here, I will argue that in the NP>Num-Cla order the NP in order to give the anaphoric definite reading moves to the post-Dem Topic position and not to the pre-Dem Topic position. This becomes evident in the presence of the overt demonstrative in (62) where the movement of the NP above the Dem is not allowed, as shown in (62ii).

62. i. Sei jama du -to
 that dress two -Cla
 'those two dresses'

ii. *jama Sei du -To
 dress that two -Cla

In Guha (2017), I have also argued for a post-Dem Focus position in the Bangla DP, cf. (63). Here, I suggest that the post-Dem Topic position in the Bangla DP is below the post-Dem Focus position, cf. (64). Our claim that the post-Dem TopP is below the post-Dem FocP (64), is supported by the data in (65i) and its structure in (65ii). In (65i) the NP pied-piping the AP moves to the Spec of the TopP below the D, as shown in (65ii). The anaphoric Dem *Sei* in (65i) merges in the Top⁰ below the D and then it moves to the null D, as shown in (65ii). Further, the AP moves from the Spec of the TopP to the FocP below the D, leaving the NP in the topic position, as can be seen in (65ii).

63. [Dem [FocP]

64. [Dem [FocP [TopP]

65 i. Sei LAL jama du -To
 that red dress two -Cla

‘those RED two dresses’

- ii. [DP [D *Sei*_k] [FocP LAL_j [TopP [t_j jama]_i [Top t_k] [QP du-To [t_i]]]]]

5 Conclusion

Following Schawrz (2009, 2013) and Jenks (2015), I have showed that definiteness in Bangla can be interpreted in two ways: unique definiteness and anaphoric definiteness. I have also claimed that the unique definite and the anaphoric definite are lexically instantiated by the proximal deictic Dem *ei* and the anaphoric sequent Dem *Sei* respectively. We have noticed that there are three possibilities through which definiteness is expressed in Bangla. One is the raised the NP above the Num-Cla in the Dem-less DP. The raised NP in the NP>Num-Cla order is ambiguous between unique definiteness and anaphoric definiteness. The second and the third ones are the non-raised and the raised NP orders in the presence of the Dem. The Dem>Num-Cla>NP order and the Dem>NP>Num-Cla order express unique definiteness in the presence of the proximal Dem *ei*, they express anaphoric definiteness in the presence of the anaphoric Dem *Sei*, and they are ambiguously interpreted as unique definite or anaphoric definite in the presence of the distal Dem *oi*.

I have postulated a DexisP and a TopicP right above the DeixisP below the D in the Bangla DP. Based on the feature compositionality of the three demonstratives in Bangla, I have suggested that the proximal deictic Dem *ei* is merged in the Deixis and the anaphoric sequent Dem *Sei* is merged in the Topic above the DeixisP and below the D. I have also assumed that the distal deictic Dem *oi* merges either in the Deixis when it is interpreted deictically, or in the Topic above the DeixisP when it is interpreted anaphorically. I have further claimed that the unique definiteness is licensed in the DeixisP and the anaphoric definiteness is licensed in the TopicP below the D.

We have noticed that there exist two topic and two focus projections in the Bangla DP, cf. (66). Syed (2012) have suggested that the occurrence of the topic and focus projections above the D in the Bangla DP is parallel to Rizzi’s (1997) focus and topic projections in the C-system, and I suggest that the occurrence of the topic and focus projections below the D is parallel to Jayaseelan’s (2001) focus and topic projections in the I-system. Thus the nominal left peripheral structure of the Bangla DP corresponds to the left peripheral structure of the clause as shown in (66) and (67).

66. Nominal left peripheral structure in the Bangla DP

[TopicP [FocusP [Dem [FocusP [TopicP....

67. Clausal left peripheral structure

[TopicP [FocusP [IP [FocusP [TopicP

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Mech Is Moody

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ABSTRACT

This paper aims to provide a detailed account of the mood features of the Tibeto-Burman language known as Mech [meɪʃ]. The language is mood-prominent with a primary distinction between realis and irrealis. Mood is marked by the usage of bound as well as free morphemes. The paper also aims to investigate the difference in mood-marking strategies in the morphology of verb types according to the aspectual classification based on Vendler's Aktionsart.

1. About Mech Language

The Mech community belongs to the Bodo-Kachari group of tribes and is one of the scheduled tribes that belongs to the northern part of the state of West Bengal in India. The Bodos of North Bengal (Jalpaiguri, Alipurduar and Terai regions) call themselves Mech because they settled along the banks of the river Mechi, which flows across India and Nepal. The Government of West Bengal recognizes them as Mech. The Mech language has been classified as a severely endangered language by UNESCO (2010), and belongs to the Tibeto-Burman sub-family of languages under the Sino-Tibetan language family.

For this study, primary data has been collected by interview and questionnaire method. The informants were chosen from the native speakers of Mech residing in Chhekamari village in Madarihat Tehsil, Alipurduar District, West Bengal. The paper is thus based on the variety of Mech spoken in Alipurduar District in West Bengal.

2. Research Objectives

The aim of this paper is to make a comprehensive study of the distribution of Mood features in Mech language. The primary objectives of this paper are listed as follows:

- i. Giving an account of how mood features are expressed in the language
- ii. Identifying the morphemes (free and/or bound) and separate lexical items (if any), which mark the mood in the language
- iii. Identifying the morphological differences (if any) in case of the verbs based on the aspectual classification of Vendler's Aktionsart

3. Theoretical Background

Tense, aspect and mood are the three major categories of grammar which characterize the nature of events and states in two domains of human cognition, namely, time and actuality. Since the paper focuses on how the category of mood is marked on the verb in case of the endangered language, Mech, this section introduces the concept of mood, and the various subtypes of the

same. The aspectual classification of verbs based on Vendler's Aktionsarten are also discussed. This section briefly introduces the concept of tenseless languages and highlights a few examples of how mood is marked in different Tibeto-Burman languages. The aim is to describe the ideas by referring to the research done on the said topics, and how the said categories are manifested in languages.

In the following sub-section, the notion of mood is discussed, after which the various sub-types of mood are discussed by reviewing the existing literature.

3.1 Mood

Mood is a morpho-syntactic category which is concerned with the actuality of the event. It indicates the manner of the action and describes whether the event is necessary, possible, permissible, etc. It means the manner in which an action or a state is expressed or is to be regarded. While the mood in itself is not concerned with temporal relations, it interacts with both tense and aspect in important ways and therefore is of considerable relevance to the study of both. Mood deals with the speaker's "attitude" toward what is said—it may be asserted, hypothesized, expressed as a wish, and so on—it is usually marked in English by the use of "modal" auxiliary verbs such as *may*, *might*, *should*. But in Greek (and Latin) such distinctions of meaning are usually indicated by modifying the verb itself (Binnick, 1991).

Mood was originally used to refer to an inflectional category of classical languages that encoded the illocutionary force of an utterance (i.e. indicative, interrogative, imperative, subjunctive), but has been reinterpreted as essentially referring to the binary contrast between actualized and non-actualized events (Chung & Timberlake 1985, Mithun 1999, Palmer 1986, Coupe 2013). "Realis" refers to situations that have actually taken place or are actually taking place, while "irrealis" is used for more hypothetical situations, including inductive generalizations and predictions, including predictions about the future. (Mithun, 1999) views the realis~irrealis contrast in terms of what is comprehensible through direct perception, versus what exists within the realm of thought and thus is only relatable through imagination. In modern linguistic theory, the irrealis mood is subsumed by different types of propositional modality, including but not limited to obligation, necessity, possibility, conditionality, counterfactuality and various other hypothetical states of affairs (Coupe, 2013). However, while the actualization of an event must be straightforwardly absolute, there are degrees to which an event can be portrayed as being relatively non-actual (Chung & Timberlake, 1985).

There are three different parameters that are used by languages while establishing modal distinctions; these are the following:

- i. a speaker's opinion or judgement regarding the actuality of an event,
- ii. kind of evidence that is available for the speaker to form this judgement, and
- iii. kind of need or requirement which forces the speaker (or someone else) to get involved in an event (or to carry out an action).

The first two parameters establish 'epistemic' (knowledge-based) moods and the third one establishes 'deontic' (action-based) moods (Palmer, 1986). In addition to these three types, the mood demonstrates illocutionary forces in the form of interrogatives (to represent epistemic moods) and in the form of imperatives (to represent deontic moods). When a speaker assesses the

reality of an event, separate mood markers may be used in the language to represent the distinction between the events and associated realities.

The epistemic mood indicates the speaker's opinion (or knowledge) regarding the actuality of an event (that is, on what basis the speaker provides such an opinion). However, deontic mood indicates the degree of compulsion which a speaker follows or enforces through the statement for an event to take place. The compulsion enforced may be related to the participants of the event, or may not be related to them (or be of external nature); thus, the internal notions of the speaker, like ability, willingness and desire and the external notions of the situation or context like necessity, request and order can be represented by using the deontic mood.

In several languages like English, German as well as a few Dravidian languages, the same form is used for denoting both deontic as well as epistemic moods—this gives rise to an ambiguous situation for the hearer/reader. The usage of the same form to represent both types of moods clearly indicates that there is a relationship between epistemic and deontic moods. For example, (Palmer, 1986) illustrates that English 'may', 'should' and 'must' can be interpreted either as denoting epistemic notions of possibility, probability and necessity respectively, or deontic notions of permission, obligation and requirement respectively as shown in the following sentences,

1. He may come tomorrow
 - i) 'Perhaps he will come tomorrow'
 - ii) 'He is permitted to come tomorrow'
2. The book should be on the shelf.
 - i) 'The book probably is on the shelf'
 - ii) 'The proper place for the book is the shelf'
3. He must be in his office.
 - i) 'I am certain that he is in his office'
 - ii) 'He is obliged to be in his office'

In these kind of cases where the same modal auxiliaries are used, determining whether the modality expressed by a proposition is deontic or epistemic can be difficult. The interpretation given to a modal auxiliary (or affix or particle, depending on the language) rests on a complex bundle of factors including tense, aspect, intonation, context and non-verbal cues (Whaley, 1997). There are also languages (like Ladakhi), however, in which distinct markers represent these two types of moods.

One of the primary considerations involved in specifying the mood of an utterance, is the degree of certainty that the speaker wishes to convey, and how they decide to express their level of certainty based on all kinds of information. Some languages develop a special set of markers,

called evidentials, which more explicitly convey the quality of information on which an assertion is based (Whaley, 1997). Evidentials bear an affinity to epistemic modality; however, they do not qualify as a separate type of mood category (Palmer, 1986). Thus, the evidential system also relays information like epistemic modality.

3.2 Types of moods

Some examples of moods are indicative, interrogative, imperative, subjunctive, injunctive, optative and potential (Wikipedia). Formally, Greek has three moods, properly speaking: indicative, subjunctive, and optative. Etymologically, the indicative (Latin *indicativus*) is the "indicating" or "pointing out" mood; the subjunctive is the "subordinating" or "subjoining" ("conjoining") mood; the optative (*optativus*) is the "wishing" or "desiring" mood. The indicative (e.g., *luso* 'I shall free') is assertive (or in questions, interrogative); the optative (*lusoimi* 'would that I freed') may express a wish. The subjunctive, however, as its name suggests, is primarily used in the classical languages to indicate the subordination of one verb to another, and has no such clearly defined "attitudinal" characterization as the indicative and optative.

Lyons (1968) presents his view that the "declarative" or indicative mood is "unmarked" for mood, "strictly speaking, non-modal": "it is customary to refer to the 'unmarked' sentences also (by courtesy as it were) as being 'in a certain mood.' ". Not all moods are clearly conceptually distinct. Individual terminology varies from language to language, and the coverage of (e.g.) the "conditional" mood in one language may largely overlap with that of the "hypothetical" or "potential" mood in another. Even when two different moods exist in the same language, their respective usages may blur, or may be defined by syntactic rather than semantic criteria.

- The **indicative mood**, or evidential mood, is used for factual statements and positive beliefs. It is the mood of reality. The indicative mood is the most commonly used mood and is found in all languages. Example: "*Paul is eating an apple*" or "*John eats apples*".
- The **imperative mood** expresses direct commands, prohibitions, and requests. An imperative is used for telling someone to do something without argument. Many languages, including English, use the bare verb stem to form the imperative (such as "go", "run", "do"). E.g. "*Sit over here.*"
- The **prohibitive mood**, the negative imperative may be grammatically or morphologically different from the imperative mood in some languages. It indicates that the action of the verb is not permitted, e.g. "*Don't you go!*"
- The **subjunctive mood**, sometimes called conjunctive mood, is used for discussing imaginary or hypothetical events and situations, expressing opinions or emotions, or making polite requests. An example of the subjunctive mood is "*I suggest that Paul eat an apple*". The sentence refers to an event which may or may not take place. Contrast this with the indicative verb of the sentence "Paul will eat an apple", in which the verb "will eat" states an unambiguous fact.
- The **optative mood** expresses hopes, wishes or commands and has other uses that may overlap with the subjunctive mood. Few languages have an optative as a distinct mood; e.g., Sanskrit, Japanese, ancient Greek, etc.
E.g.: *I wish to play the guitar.*

- The **potential mood** is a mood of probability indicating that, in the opinion of the speaker, the action or occurrence is considered likely. It is used in Finnish, Japanese, in Sanskrit, and in the Sami languages. Eg: *It may rain today*.
- The **interrogative (or interrogatory) mood** is used for asking questions. In English, questions are considered interrogative. Most other languages do not have a special mood for asking questions, but exceptions include Welsh, Nenets and Eskimo languages such as Greenlandic. A speaker uses an interrogative sentence in order to augment or strengthen his knowledge about an event; they are therefore closely related to epistemic moods like doubt and uncertainty. E.g.: *Will David come to the party?*

3.3 Vendler's Aspectual Classification of Verbs

Intuitively, the kinds of events or situations that predicates describe can be seen to have certain broad distinctions in their forms, or shapes. For example, the kind of event described by the predicate '*eat an apple*' consists of an activity that moves forward until the apple is completely eaten, at which point the event is completed and cannot go on any further. In contrast, the kind of event described by '*watch TV*' doesn't have any kind of natural forward movement or finishing point – it can go on and on. Distinctions like this form the basis for **aspectual event classes**, or **aktionsarten** (from the German *aktion* 'action' and *art* 'sort or type'). The predicate-described situations under classification are called **eventualities** (Bach 1981), which includes both states and events (Kearns, 2011).

Four main classes of aktionsart are generally in current use, chiefly from the work of the philosophers (Ryle, 1949), (Kenny, 1963) and (Vendler, 1967). The classifications are characterized in terms of three main distinctions: **telic vs. atelic**, **durative vs. non-durative** and **static vs. dynamic**.

The property of **telicity** (from Greek *telos* 'goal, purpose, completion') is the property of having a natural finishing point, as the example of '*eat an apple*'. Any event which does not have a natural finishing point is **atelic**. Other **telic** predicates include '*recite the limerick*', '*drink a glass of beer*', and so on.

A **durative event** occupies time, in contrast with a **non-durative event** which is idealized to a point in time. Most events are durative; among the events which are conceptualized as non-durative are predicates like '*notice the mark*' which is idealized to a momentary transition between not being aware of the mark and being aware of the mark; another is '*recognize the car*', idealized to a momentary transition between not knowing which car it is and knowing which car it is. Another way to think about non-durative events like these is that they comprise the 'front edges' of states. Predicates like *realize* and *notice* denote the front edge of states of awareness.

The difference between static and dynamic events is the difference between states and all the rest, which are collectively called events. State predicates include '*know the answer*', '*believe in UFOs*', '*be hungry*', and '*contain toys*', and so on. States are internally uniform, one moment is much like another, and have no forward movement or natural beginning or end.

The four main *aktionsarten* are **states**, **activities** also called **processes**, **accomplishments** and **achievements**. The classification applies to the predicate in its stem (uninflected) form.

- **States** are atelic – they have no natural boundaries or **culminations** which constitute finishing points. States are durative – they occupy time, and can be said to last for minutes, weeks, years and centuries. States are static – nothing ‘happens’ in a state. Eg: ‘*The cat is asleep*’.
- **Processes or activities** are such that the arguments of the verb are part of the basic predicate, but adverbials are not. Eg: ‘*John walked in the garden*’. Processes are atelic and durative, like states, but unlike states, processes are dynamic. One way to see this is that processes generally have internal texture; for example, the fluttering of the leaves involves the movement of the leaves, so that the leaves are in different positions at different moments during the fluttering event.
- **Accomplishments** are the eventualities with the most complex structure, consisting of a process or activity with forward movement, leading up to a specified finishing point – that is, a telos or culmination. Eg: ‘*John built a house*’. Accomplishments are telic, durative and dynamic.
- **Achievements** express the onset of a state. Eg: ‘*Jones spotted the car on the road*’. Achievements are classified as telic, but rather than having a telos, an achievement *is* a kind of Telos. Upper and lower limits on periods of time can be classified as a *terminus a quo* (‘limit from which’) indicating the earliest possible time; or as a *terminus ad quem* (‘limit to which’), indicating the latest possible time. A telos is a kind of *terminus ad quem* and an achievement is a kind of *terminus a quo*. Given that an achievement is an event boundary rather than a ‘full’ event, it is non-durative.

The following section shall discuss about tenseless languages.

3.4 Tenseless Languages

Cross-linguistically, Tense is not found in all languages. There can be languages where tense is not distinctive, i.e. tense is not grammatically marked. In tenseless languages, the primary distinction that their verbs can make is between realis and irrealis, i.e., forms which indicate an event the speaker considers to be real, on the one hand, the one that denote hypothetical, possible, proposed or yet to be realized (future) events on the other (Bhat & Ningomba 1997, Mayengbam, 2002). Tenseless languages often grammaticalize a distinction between reference to factual and non-factual situations. The future time reference is treated wholly or in part as non-factual in such languages. The speakers talk about future events exclusively by relating them to present or past topic times via aspectual, modal, or mood markers (Bohnemeyer, 2019). An example of this type of language is Dyrirbal (Singh, 1999).

3.5 Mood in Tibeto-Burman Languages

The indistinctiveness of tense is one of the structural features of the Tibeto-Burman languages (Bauman, 1975). Generally, Tibeto-Burman languages give greater prominence to mood than to tense and aspect. For example, in Burmese, separate morphemes are used to mark realis and irrealis mood. Since future time reference in these languages is subsumed under irrealis, the present and future time reference show different grammatical realizations, but without it being the case that these languages have a distinct future tense. Rather, the future time reference is just one of the interpretations possible for the irrealis (Singh, 1999). Hence, Tibeto-Burman languages are primarily mood-prominent or aspect-prominent.

Some examples of the moods are represented in a few Tibeto-Burman languages are provided as follows:

- **The indicative mood in Ladakhi**
 4. kho-e lcəŋ-mə cəd-duk
he-ERG tree-DIE cut-OBSERVED
'He cuts the tree.' (direct observation) (Bhat, 1935)
- **The imperative mood in Mao Naga**
 5. larubvusu pi-ka
book give-IMP
'Give the book (to me)!' (Bhat, 1935)
- **Subjunctive mood in Tshangla**
 6. Om toka sha tsong-me gi-du?
now bull meat sell-INF COP-SUB
'How about selling the meat?' (Thurgood & LaPolla, 2003)
- **Optative mood in Ladakhi**
 7. nəə yigezik Di-goss-ət
I letter write-wish-REPORTIVE
'I wish to write a letter.' (Bhat, 1935)
- **Potential mood in Mao Naga**
 8. pfo ta-amolo-e
he go-may-PRED
'He may go.' (Bhat, 1935)
- **Interrogative mood in Kheza**
 9. no mhechə-a-ya
You work-REALIS-Q
'Are you working?' (Bhat, 1935)

3.6 Summary till now

In this section, we have introduced the notion of the morpho-syntactic category of mood. Also, we have reviewed the research done until now, on mood and tenseless languages and we have highlighted how the category of mood is manifested in languages. We have also discussed the Vendlerian classification of verbs based on the situational aspect. Finally, it was demonstrated how the Tibeto-Burman languages mark the categories of tense, aspect and mood on the verb.

In the following sections, we are going to discuss the above-mentioned categories with respect to Mech.

4. Research Methodology

In the previous section, a comprehensive summary on mood has been presented. As the paper focuses on the above-mentioned category in Mech, which is an endangered language and is less documented, a methodology for carrying out the study has been discussed in this chapter.

There are various methods available for data elicitation such as observation method, interview method, documentary source method, etc. (Abbi, 2001). Out of these methods, the most common and widely used method for field investigation is the interview method. The field investigator usually interviews the informants with the help of a questionnaire. Interviews are generally taken directly—however, if there is no common contact language between the investigator and the informants, then interviews can also be conducted with the help of an interpreter. Interviews generally last for a maximum of two hours per informant per day. If the informant has no objection, then the data is recorded in a recorder for future reference and archiving purposes.

A thorough and efficient fieldwork requires some study of the language under investigation prior to visiting the field. An informant is usually consulted for preliminary work of eliciting data with regard to the basic wordlist, basic sentences, basic phonetic and phonological structures as well as basic morphological structures of the language under study. This initial analysis usually involves multiple sessions with the informant, who is generally bilingual. The language of the questionnaire depends on—(i) the linguistic composition of the speech community, (ii) the language of the investigator, and (iii) the nature of the inquiry (Abbi, 2001). A preliminary idea about the community is gathered and based on the information obtained, a contact language is chosen for the study. For collecting data, a questionnaire is used—it is one of the most important tools which is used to get the requisite information. An investigation into the grammar of any language resides in the comprehensiveness, clarity and completeness of the questionnaire (Abbi, 2001). While designing the questionnaire, the goal of the research should be kept in mind. A good questionnaire which is aligned with the research questions of the study, ensures that appropriate data is collected in the most efficient manner. Questionnaires are usually made in the contact language for the community. The parts of the questionnaire should incorporate all the hypotheses and research questions that one wants to confirm or investigate.

Data collection is carried out in two parts—firstly, data is collected and initial analysis is made, following which this analysis is checked with further collection of data from fresh informants. This ensures the validity of the analysis and the authenticity of the data collected. Data should be collected from both male as well as female informants to get a full representation of the language in the society and to observe if any variations exist. Also, data should be collected from informants belonging to different age groups.

Since the language under study, Mech, is an undocumented language, no secondary data was available. Primary data was collected from native speakers of Mech residing in Chhekamari village in Madarihat Tehsil, Alipurduar District, West Bengal during 30.10.2018 to 05.11.2018. For the said purpose, interview method was adopted and questionnaires were used for collecting and recording data. Initially, a native speaker of Mech who is fluent in Bangla, was consulted with before the field visit and a basic word list of about 300 words and a few basic phrases were noted. Also, the basic phonetic structure was observed and the language was found to be inflectional. It was found that the community is multilingual with knowledge of Bangla, Hindi, Rajbangshi, Rabha and Nepali apart from Mech, and the young generation understands and speaks English as well. The use of their mother-tongue Mech is restricted to a few basic domains like home, market, etc. while they use the other languages (primarily Bangla and Hindi) in the other social domains.

On the basis of this information, the contact language was chosen as Bangla, and a questionnaire was designed, which was aligned with the research objectives of this paper. Thus,

a detailed questionnaire was made with separate sections on all possible mood types to investigate this category in the verbal morphology of the language. The questionnaire also focused on Vendler's aspectual classification of verbs, and four verbs were chosen for the study, one of each type. The questionnaire contained a total of 250 sentences, focused on the various types of moods like epistemic, deontic, imperative, potential, optative, etc. Ten sets of the questionnaire were taken to the field and ten informants were selected. Initially, data was collected from eight informants and the morpheme analysis was done. Average interview time was 1.5 hours per session per informant, and multiple sessions were scheduled on separate days for collection of the entire range of data. An initial analysis was made and the requisite morphemes were identified. After the initial analysis, data was collected from and cross-checked with the remaining two informants.

In the next section, we shall see the analysis of the collected data on Mech and the features pertaining to the mood categories shall be discussed in detail.

5. Data and Discussion

In section 3.5, I have discussed the various mood features in different Tibeto-Burman languages. In this section, I shall discuss the features observed in the Mech [met^h] language data based on the methodology outlined in section 4.

5.1 Mood in Mech

Mood indicates the manner of the action—it describes whether the event is necessary, possible, permissible, etc. Mood shows up on the verb. The primary distinction is made between realis vs. irrealis. Apart from realis and irrealis moods, their various sub-classes like Potential, Epistemic, Deontic, Evidential, Optative & Subjunctive Moods are also studied.

5.1.1 Realis vs Irrealis

Irrealis is the type of mood used to indicate future events or events which have not yet been realized. Thus, irrealis deals with non-factual events. The default irrealis marker in Mech is -nəi. The various kinds of moods which are a sub-type of irrealis are potential mood, subjunctive mood, optative mood, imperative mood, etc. Realis deals with factual events, i.e., events which have already been realized in the world. Realis is generally unmarked. In Mech, -muən is a realis marker used in combination with other markers to show certainty that the event has occurred in the distant past. Thus in combination with other markers, the realis marker tends to indicate the temporal location of the event as past. Realis mood includes indicative mood.

In the case of Mech, no tense marking on verb was found. Mech is a mood-prominent language. The temporal structure of an event is specified by Aspect & Mood markings on the verb. The distinction is maintained between future vs non-future by marking irrealis vs realis.

10. əŋ k^hamani məu-wə
 1SG work do-HAB
 'I do the work.'

(Present Tense)

11. əŋ k^hamani məu-wə-**mun**
 1SG work do-HAB-REALIS
 ‘I did the work.’ (Past Tense)

12. əŋ k^hamani məu-**nəi**
 1SG work do-IRR
 ‘I will do the work.’ (Future Tense)

According to traditional classification between present, past and future tenses, sentences 10, 11 and 12 have been taken respectively. The verb does not show any marking with respect to tenses but uses aspect and mood markers to specify the location of the event in time. There is no separate marking for present tense. In order to mark the past tense, the realis marker (-*mun*) is used, whereas future tense is marked using the irrealis marker (-*nəi*). Realis marker is not used in general for events which are occurring or which have just occurred and shown completion (i.e., for perfective aspect). Irrealis is thus the marked feature—the irrealis marker is used to mark the future tense, i.e., for the events which have not yet been realized. For past tense, if the event is in the distant past, the realis marker is used to mark that the event has been realized in the past. Hence, realis is marked only to denote past event, thereby displaying a semi-marked status.

5.1.2 Epistemic Modality and Evidentiality

Epistemic modals express the speaker’s opinion/judgement about the way the real world is. It depends on the beliefs and knowledge of the speaker. Evidentiality is a kind of epistemic modality. Evidentiality characterizes the nature of the speaker’s information (such as hear-say, pre-conceived knowledge, first-hand knowledge, visual vs auditory knowledge, etc). Separate lexical items (epistemic verbs) are used to indicate evidentiality. The sentences are of the general format:

13. əŋ/bi V_{epi}-bai P
 1SG/3SG V-PFV proposition
 ‘I/He V-PFV P’

Where V_{epi} = epistemic verb.

The list of epistemic verbs (V_{epi}) is: nai-bai (see-PFV), k^həna-bai (hear-PFV), mit^hi-bai (know-PFV), ʃaŋdŋŋ-bai (think-PFV) and buŋ-bai (say-PFV).

14. əŋ **nai-bai** ri^ha-ja ɖəila-m ʃiŋa-o ʃirai-nu ɖŋŋ-o
 1SG see-PFV Rita-NOM river-GEN bank-LOC sit-CP be-PFV
 ‘I saw that Rita is sitting at the bank of the river.’

15. bi **buŋ-bai** ri^ha-ja ɖəila-m ʃiŋa-o ʃirai-nu ɖŋŋ-o
 3SG say-PFV Rita-NOM river-GEN bank-LOC sit-CP be-PFV
 ‘He said that Rita is sitting at the bank of the river.’

Thus, the degree of authenticity of the information being conveyed by the speaker is dependent on the type of epistemic verb chosen.

5.1.3 Deontic Modality

Deontic modals express how people should behave in the world. They show varying degrees of obligation or permission. For varying degrees of obligation, the deontic terms *sacchⁱ* and *oboffoi* are used. The lexical item *oboffoi* expresses a stronger degree of obligation (as shown in sentence 47). However, for expressing permission, no separate marker has been found—sometimes the same marker for possibility or potential mood (*hagou*) is used.

16. əŋ **sacchi** niŋ-i na-o tʰaŋ-nəi
 1SG DEONTIC 2SG-GEN house-LOC go-IRR
 'I will surely go to your house.'
17. əŋ **oboffoi** niŋ-i na-o tʰaŋ-nəi
 1SG DEONTIC 2SG-GEN house-LOC go-IRR
 'I will definitely go to your house.'

5.1.4 Potential Mood

Potential mood expresses the possibility and potential of occurrence of an event. For expressing this mood, a separate lexical item **hagou** is used at the end of the sentence. The realization of the event stated has not yet occurred.

18. rohit-na tʰəi-n-a-n tʰəŋ-n-a **hagou**
 Rohit-NOM die-CP-PFV-ASSERTIVE go-CP-PFV POTENTIAL
 'Rohit may have died.'

5.1.5 Subjunctive Mood

The subjunctive mood is used to indicate a situation or condition that is hypothetical, doubtful or conditional. The bound morpheme **-jə** is used as a suffix with the verb root in the subordinate clause to indicate a conditional situation.

19. joŋi nəŋ pʰin-n-a-n pʰəi-**jə** , ənla əŋ nəŋ-kʰou
 If 2SG turn-CP-PFV-ASSERTIVE come-SBJV then 1SG 2SG-ACC
 məjəŋ mən-nəi
 good love-IRR
 'If you come back, then I will love you.'

It may also be noted that the conjunctive participle (**-nu**) loses the vowel *u* when the perfective marker (**-a**) is attached to the V1 of the explicator compound verb (ECV) in this case.

5.1.6 Optative Mood

The optative mood is used to indicate a wish or hope. In this language, a separate lexical item **ləbəijə** is used at the end of the sentence to express this mood.

20. əŋ-i laiŋam lit?-nu **ləbəijə**
 1SG-GEN letter write-CP OPT
 'I wish to write a letter.'

5.1.7 Assertive & Negative Mood

The assertive and negative moods are used in Mech to indicate the overall attitude of action as having a positive result (assertive mood) or having a negative result (negative mood), particularly in case of achievement verbs. The achievement type verbs which are usually compound verbs, show an assertive/negative mood in the form of a morpheme bound to the V1 and/or V2 of the explicator compound verb (ECV), i.e., the morpheme indicates whether the action towards achieving the result succeeded or failed. There are three allomorphs of this mood—{**-n** / **-bə** / **-kʰoi**}.

In case of a positive attitude indicating the success of the action, the allomorph **-n** is used for achievement verbs (example 21 below). For other types of verbs, the positive attitude is default or unmarked. To show negative attitude indicating failure, there are two cases—in case of regular verbs, the allomorph **-kʰoi** is used (example 23 below); in case of achievement type of

compound verbs, the negative is doubly marked, i.e., the allomorph *-bə* is marked on the V1 and the allomorph *-k^hoi* is marked on the V2 (light verb) of the explicator compound verb (example 22 below).

21. əŋ boi-k^hou naigiriʔ-n-a-**n** mən-bai
 1SG book-ACC search-CP-PFV-ASSERTIVE get-PFV
 ‘I found the book.’
22. əŋ boi-k^hou naigiriʔ-n-a-**bə** mən-a-**k^hoi**
 1SG book-ACC search-CP-PFV-NEG get-PFV-NEG
 ‘I did not find the book.’

It may be noted that for compound verbs indicating positive attitude, the perfective aspect marker *-a* is used on V1, while the perfective aspect marker *-bai* is marked on V2. In contrast, for compound verbs indicating negative attitude, the perfective aspect marker *-a* is used to mark both V1 and V2 of the ECV. It is also observed that the conjunctive participle (*-nuu*) loses the vowel *u* when the perfective marker (*-a*) is attached to the V1 of the explicator compound verb (ECV).

23. bi əŋ-ni kat^ha-k^hou k^həna-(j)a-**k^hoi**
 3SG 1SG-GEN speech-ACC hear-PFV-NEG
 ‘He did not listen to my words.’

In this example, since the verb *k^həna* ‘hear’ ends with a vowel sound and the following perfective aspect marker *-a* is also a vowel, a glide is introduced at this morpheme boundary in order to distinguish or dissimilate between the sounds—hence the glide is only a phonological requirement, with no added contribution to the morphology of the verb.

For another kind of verbs, a few other negation strategies exist. These are beyond the scope of this paper and are left for future study on the collection of further data.

5.1.8 Indicative Mood

The indicative mood is used to make declarative sentences or factual statements. No separate markers for denoting indicative mood have been observed.

5.1.9 Imperative Mood

The imperative mood is used to express command, instruction or request. No separate markers have been observed. Infinitive forms of the verb are used without inflection for indicating this mood.

24. ʃiri **t^ha**
 quiet be-IMP(INFV)
 ‘Be quiet.’

5.2 Vendler’s Aspectual Classification of Verbs

According to Vendler’s *Aktionsarten*, verbs are classified based on the properties or features of dynamism, duration and telicity, into four classes, namely, State verbs or Statives, Accomplishment verbs, Process verbs and Achievement type verbs.

	Dynamism	Duration	Telicity
State	-	+	-
Accomplishment	+	+	+
Process	+	+	-
Achievement	+	-	+

Table 4: Classification of verbs based on Vendler's Aktionsarten

For the language under study, four verbs were taken according to this classification:

mən- (to love)	[STATIVE VERB]
məu- (to do)	[ACCOMPLISHMENT VERB]
litʔ- (to write)	[PROCESS VERB]
naigiriʔna- mən- (to find)	[ACHIEVEMENT VERB]

Results of the above analysis have been summarized in this work. A few examples of these verbs are shown in the next four sub-sections 5.2.1 to 5.2.4.

5.2.1 Stative Verb *mən-* (to love)

The stative verb *mən-* 'love' shows regular morphology as discussed earlier. An example is provided below for illustration.

25. əŋ	biɖoʔ	ja-nu	məʔəŋ	mən-nə
1SG	mutton	eat-CP	good	love-HAB
'I love to eat mutton.'				

5.2.2 Accomplishment Verb *məu-* (to do)

The accomplishment verb *məu-* 'do' shows regular morphology as discussed earlier (as shown in examples 10, 11 and 12).

5.2.3 Process Verb *litʔ-* (to write)

The process verb *litʔ-* 'write' shows regular morphology as discussed earlier. An example is provided below for illustration.

26. əŋ	laijəm	litʔ-ɖəŋ
1SG	letter	write-PROG
'I am writing a letter.'		

5.2.4 Achievement Verb *naigiriʔna- mən-* (to find)

The achievement verb *naigiriʔna- mən-* 'find' shows regular morphology as discussed earlier. However, the only difference is that they show an additional obligatory marker of positive or negative attitude regarding the achievement type event. The achievement type verbs are usually compound verbs, and they show an assertive/negative mood in the form of a morpheme bound to the V1 and/or V2 of the explicator compound verb (ECV), i.e., the morpheme indicates whether the action towards achieving the result succeeded or failed. In case of a positive attitude indicating the success of the action, the allomorph **-n** is used to mark the mood on V1 of the ECV (example 21). To show negative attitude indicating failure, the negative is doubly marked, i.e., the allomorph **-bə** is marked on the V1 and the allomorph **-kʰoi** is marked on the V2 (light verb) of the explicator compound verb (example 22).

As noted earlier, for compound verbs indicating positive attitude, the perfective aspect marker *-a* is used on V1, while the perfective aspect marker *-bai* is marked on V2. In contrast, for compound verbs indicating negative attitude, the perfective aspect marker *-a* is used to mark both V1 and V2 of the ECV.

5.3 Summary till now

In this section, we have seen various features associated with mood which are marked on the verb in Mech. We have seen that tense (temporal location of the event) is ascertained by using a combination of various aspect and mood markers. For indicating mood, the language uses bound morphemes as well as free morphemes (as separate lexical items). All mood-marking bound morphemes are suffixes. Also, Mech uses epistemic verbs to indicate the evidentiality and degree of authenticity of information conveyed.

In the next section, we shall summarize the findings of this paper and present a conclusion in alignment with our laid down research objectives.

6. Conclusion

In alignment with the set research objectives in section 2, the findings are presented as follows—

The language data collected was studied extensively to investigate how mood features are expressed in the language. It was observed that the language does not mark tense, but rather it uses aspect and mood suffixes to indicate the temporal location of the event or action described by the verb. The primary distinction is made between realis and irrealis, and the language marks the past tense by using a combination of aspect marker and realis mood marker. In addition to that, the language has a variety of moods expressed through the use of various markers. Epistemic verbs indicating evidentiality and deontic mood markers are present. Also, the positive or negative attitude of the speaker was seen to be marked by using a separate morpheme (or combinations of morphemes in case of compound verbs). Other moods like subjunctive, optative, etc. were also found. Thus, the language is *mood-prominent*, with major emphasis on the marking of mood on the verb. Tense is not directly marked on the verb, and hence it is a tenseless language.

It has been seen that separate lexical items (epistemic verbs) are used to indicate evidentiality. A general format of the sentences indicating evidentiality has been identified. For expressing deontic modality, deontic terms *sacc^{hi}* and *oboffoi* are used, with *oboffoi* expressing a stronger degree of obligation. Potential mood and Optative mood are marked by separate lexical items *hagou* & *ləbəijə* respectively. In Imperative mood, infinitive forms of verbs are used without inflection. The language also marks the assertive and negative attitude of the speaker on the verb by using bound morphemes {-*n* / -*bə* / -*k^hoi*}.

An aspectual classification of verbs were also made based on Vendler's Aktionsart and it was noted that the achievement type verbs differ from the other types (stative, accomplishment and process verbs) in the sense that, they mark an overall status of result of the activity, i.e., they obligatorily mark a positive attitude (indicating success) or a negative attitude (indicating failure) on the verb to show the outcome of the activity denoted by the achievement verb.

Thus, the verbal system is very different with respect to mood markings, and it is being concluded that Mech is quite 'moody' indeed. Mech is thus a mood-prominent and tenseless language. The morphological analysis presented in this paper can be used for making any computational tool or interface which can help to increase language use among the community,

or the analysis may be used for making morphological analyzers. Also, this work may serve as a reference to all who wish to work with the language in future.

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Syntheticity and Analyticity: Indian English and the Need for an Analytic Index

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ABSTRACT

The aim of this work is to distinguish Indian English (IE) from American English (AE) as a different speech variety solely based on the notions of syntheticity and analyticity. Since the notion of syntheticity or analyticity is often a deciding factor about the linguistic or typological nature of a language, this paper focuses on classifying IE as a different speech variety on the basis of a potentially quantifiable difference — the syntheticity index. Excerpts from two different newspapers on the same sports event in both IE and AE have comprised the main data for this work. Moreover, excerpts from two other English newspapers from Singapore and England have also been analyzed to examine the validity of the syntheticity index and to further a potential need to include an analyticity index in the methodological framework. According to preliminary findings, the difference between the syntheticity indexes for IE and AE shows a considerable difference in the quantifiable synthetic nature of the two varieties, but the measured values of syntheticity index hardly show any considerable difference in terms of their inferred analytic nature. Finally, a separate analyticity index shows IE to be evidently more analytic than AE, emphasizing the need for a separate analyticity index.

1. Introduction

The terms like analytic and synthetic have long been discussed in the field of linguistics. They are defining as well as problematic many times. These terms are representatives of different typological characteristic which can help classify languages. As van Gelderen (2013, p. 236) states, “August Wilhelm von Schlegel seems to be the first in 1818 to use the terms analytic and synthetic where languages are concerned.” This (prominent) remark not only establishes the methodological origin of the concepts but also indicates the importance of them in linguistic typology. However, as Schwegler (1990, p.12) points out that from the very beginning these terms were not used in precise ways since they include “gradations”. The issue of defining these terms and using them properly across the board are still a moot point. This paper, having considered the complexities of this paradigm, focuses on the fundamentals of syntheticity and analyticity toward distinguishing Indian English as a different speech variety (as compared to standard American English) and points toward a methodological adjustment in quantifying both synthetic and analytic natures of a given speech variety.

2. Goals

The aim of this paper is to distinguish Indian English as a distinct speech variety primarily in comparison with American English based on the notions of syntheticity and analyticity. In so

doing, the paper briefly discusses the idea of syntheticity and analyticity and their methodological significance in the available literature. Since the notion of syntheticity or analyticity is often a deciding factor about the linguistic or typological nature of a language, this paper focuses on classifying Indian English as a different speech variety on the basis of a potentially quantifiable difference — the syntheticity index. Excerpts from two different newspapers on the same sports event (2015 world cup final match for cricket) in both Indian and American English have comprised the main data for this work. Moreover, excerpts from two other newspapers from Singapore and England have also been analyzed to examine the validity of the syntheticity index and to establish a potential need to include an analyticity index in the methodological framework.

The primary research questions that facilitate this work are the following:

- Does Indian English truly differ from American English based on the synthetic/analytic property?
- How do British English (BE) and Singaporean English (SE) behave in terms their synthetic/analytic nature?
- Will an analytic index better encompass the quantifiable difference between different speech varieties?

3. Concepts of Analyticity and Syntheticity

Works of the Schlegel brothers and Humboldt until the early 19th century marked the dawn of a new morphological classification of languages. Friedrich, V. S. deserves the appreciation to be the first to introduce the notion of classifying languages based on a. languages with affixes, and b. languages with inflections. A. Schlegel suggests the three broad classification in his work (Schwegler 1990, p. 4). Those are 1. Languages without grammatical structure, 2. Languages with affixes, and 3. Languages with inflection. The first type would be exemplified in Chinese where the roots can be modified in words. Syntax plays a major role in defining relations between words here. The second type would be exemplified in the ‘Amerindian’ languages. The third type would be classical languages. Here inflections play a major role. His classification of languages was furthered by introducing two more subdivisions in the type three – “synthetic” and “analytic”.

For A. Schlegel, this subdivision aims only to distinguish the classical languages (Greek, Latin, and Sanskrit) from their modern successors. The classical languages are synthetic because they express the relationship among words via the forms of the words themselves. Analytic languages, such as Romance ones, express these grammatical relationships by means of separate words or by word positions. A striking problem in this model is that it could not be applied in absolute terms. As Schwegler (1990, p. 4) states, “A. Schlegel is forced to place Germanic languages (excluding English which he considers analytic) in an intermediate class since they are, according to him, synthetic in origin but tending heavily to analytic forms...” A. Schlegel’s tone in writing is often said to be pregnant with value judgments. He states that the switch from synthetic to analytic constructs was brought about by the cultural decline of the post-classical era (Schwegler 1990). Greenberg points out (1974, p.38) that A. Schlegel must have been ‘disturbed’ by the fact that the modern Indo-European languages have tended to lose the inflections found in older stages. Greenberg also believes that A. Schlegel found himself forced to introduce a further subdivision among the inflectional languages; synthetic for the older types and analytic for the modern languages. However, it could also be said that A. Schlegel furthered the division to simply refine the classification that had been propounded by his brother Friedrich.

Whatever the reason might be, these disputes and disagreements are likely to give birth to new inventions in the fields of research.

The next significant place in this line of the discussion is attributed to Wilhelm von Humboldt. He explicitly rejects the Schlegelian theory of this classification. He stressed the fact that most languages have tendencies of both inflection and agglutination, and the systematic separation cannot be maintained. He objects to Schlegel's analytic/synthetic break down. In reading through Humboldt's work one reaches the understanding that the synthetic/analytic division is rejected not simply because it is so vague to be useful but also in his view that non-genetic language classification is impossible (Schwegler 1990). Next to Humboldt were scholars like Bopp (1833), Pott (1833), and Schliecher (1850). Both Bopp and Pott (as stated in Schwegler 1990) spent considerable amount of effort in making further contributions to the typological categorization of languages without incorporating the concepts of analyticity and syntheticity into their models (Hence these are not directly related to the main discussion of the paper).

Von der Gabelentz (1881, 1891) uses synthetic/analytic terms not to classify concepts for description but rather as a complementary distinction between two existing system of grammar coexisting within a single language (Schwegler 1990, pp.11-12). The analytic system is fairly traditional and, in a way, resembles modern structural grammar. In so doing, it takes sentences as the basic unit and segments it into successively smaller constituents. The synthetic system rests on what was then an entirely different concept: it sought to establish how a given thought is formulated by the speaker. The author never attempts to present his synthetic grammar as a new theory of language. His motivation for posting the analytic/synthetic divide is above everything practical because it meant to facilitate both description and acquisition of non-Indo-European languages. Gabelentz acknowledges, as stated in Schwegler (1990, p. 12), "...that the perspectives of both analytic and synthetic grammars are essential to understanding and teaching the mechanics of speech production (pp. 479-481), but underlines the importance of the synthetic grammar for handling the finer points of a language."

The Neo-grammarian school had such a profound and negative impact on typological studies that Schlegel-Schleicher division of languages into synthetic and analytic types was abandoned for over five decades. Sapir (1921) then appeared as a transitional figure in the scenario, between the old and the new. Although drawing upon from Schlegel-Schleicher's analytic/synthetic theme, he rejects the subjective evolutionary aspects of which typified these predecessors. His classification of language types is complex and complicated. He distinguishes three separate grounds of classifications of languages: 1. grammatical concepts, 2. grammatical process, and 3. Firmness in affixation. Sapir establishes three degrees of affixation (1921, pp.135-136):

1. Analytic: A language that does not combine concepts into single words at all (Chinese) or does so economically (English, French). In this case, the sentence is always of prime importance and the word bears minor interest.

2. Synthetic: In a synthetic language (Latin, Arabic, Finnish) the concepts cluster more thickly, but there is a tendency, overall, to keep the range of concrete significance in the single word down to moderate compass.

3. Polysynthetic: More than ordinarily synthetic. The elaboration of the word is extreme. Concepts which we should never dream of treating in subordinate fashion are symbolized by derivations affixes or "symbolic" changes in the radical element, while more abstract notions including the syntactic relations, may also be conveyed by the word

Sapir emphasizes that the terms are "...purely quantitative and relative, that use of a language may be "analytic" from one standpoint, "synthetic" from another." (1921, p.136). To elaborate

on this, he states English is analytic only in tendency, since relative to French, at least in certain aspects it is still fairly synthetic. Sapir does not aim for a watertight compartmentalization between analytic and synthetic. What he practically seeks is to highlight structural tendencies within a given language. One can easily see the harbinger of the forthcoming Structuralism in Sapir and his language classification methods. However, Sapir's vastly subjective qualifying notations in his work – “mildly synthetic”, “notably synthetic” etc. face criticism and Sapir himself eventually discarded his initial enthusiasm for analytic/synthetic division. Albeit, Sapir's “Language” contributed to the spread of a now very popular terminology that might have otherwise fallen into oblivion.

Post-Sapirian era is marked by two main linguists and their works. The ill-defined or vaguely defined concepts of analyticity and syntheticity receive a major break when Tauli (1945) comes up with his article “Morphological Analysis and Synthesis”. Here he sets forth a more accurate and structured layout of the concerned concepts. He sets forth a list of eleven criteria on which the foundation of analysis and synthesis rests. In his scheme, the analytic or synthetic character of flexional forms depends on the eleven circumstances (Schwegler 1990, pp. 18-19). Those are Linearity; Presence of a common alternant stem; presence of a common alternant morpheme; independence of a stem's occurrence; independence of a morpheme's occurrence; phonetic strength of a morpheme; criteria of displaceability; changeable order of the elements; cases of coordination with regards to a morpheme and words; subordination concord; and the order of elements of expressions. A form, in this model, can be labelled as analytic or synthetic relatively; i.e. with reference to one or several criteria. However, this author also, in a way, falls back to a purely subjective analysis of analyticity/syntheticity by suggesting that some criteria carry so much weight that a form might practically be classed as analytic based on such criteria only (p. 84). Tauli also never elaborates on how one is supposed to weigh these criteria; which would lead to a vague and subjective classification.

The quantification of morphological typology as illustrated by Greenberg (1960) marks a giant leap towards a more structured classification of morphological structures. Having understood the paradox and subjectivism of the terms in preceding era he remarks, Time seems propitious to reexamine the 19th century approach to the problem, discarding what the intervening period of linguistic criticism has demonstrated as invalid and incorporating recent methodological advances in order to re-formulate the hypotheses along more rigorous lines. (p.180) Using the analytical tools of contemporary American Structuralism, Greenberg essentially adopts the Sapirian classification in a revised form. Unlike Sapir, though, he clearly differentiates between distinctive units by a formal, not a semantic test. However, Greenbergian model also faces debates and disagreements regarding the problematic definition of word. And hence this becomes far from being unproblematic in his model. His model was based on mathematical index generated by morpheme and word ratio. This index argued in favor of being a deciding criterion of syntheticity and analyticity of a language. Whereas Greenbergian method shows the originality in the elaboration of a quantitative scale (Unlike Sapir) of measurement and gives a chance to a fair ranking of languages, it is also not free from difficulties (as mentioned above). Pierce (1966, p. 45) points out that “...if Greenberg's typological methodology is to be utilized and expanded, rigid definitions of terms will have to be agreed upon and followed by all investigators to insure comparable results.”

4. Methodologies in the Literature

All the above-mentioned methods of validating the analytic/synthetic yardstick and then measuring that have been far from being perfect if taken in isolation. Before Greenberg no prominent methodology can be traced back that yields a purely quantitative measurement technique. Even Greenberg's method had to face challenges and that has been mentioned in the previous section. Following the lead of the Greenbergian quantitative method(s), typologists in the past few decades have been trying to reformulate and extend the classic quantitative approach. It has become increasingly obvious that one needs to meticulously select a number of different strategies to obtain a more balanced approach. Thus, it is tricky and hard to achieve. V. Krupa (1965), J. Kelemen (1970), and more recently Szmrecsanyi (2012) are the scholars who have tried to advance similar or different approaches based on the Greenbergian methodological paradigm.

Among these scholars, Krupa (1965) tried to invert the Greenberg's formula of M/W to W/M, with the result that the theoretical upper limit (1.00) reflects total analyticity, whereas ranges close to 0.00+ indicate a very high degree of synthesis. However, the new calculation offers nothing new. A more dramatic change in the formula is given by Kelemen (1970) (as cited in Schwegler 1990), who proposes the need to investigate not only the percentage of characteristic traits but also the proportion of the individual characteristics. It, in practice, is the calculation based on analytic word/total words in text. For example, in a sentence like "the boy killed the duckling" Greenberg's index would give 1.40 (7 morphemes/5 words) and Kelemen's would yield 0.60 (3 analytic words [the, boy, the]/5 words). The problem in this method is not only that Kelemen fails to suggest what actually constitutes a word, but also, at what point a word is considered analytic and when synthetic. In Szmrecsanyi (2012), on the other hand, the classic Greenbergian method is followed with two additions. First, he adds one analytic index, and second, he descriptively elaborates on what the instances are of analytic and synthetic word tokens. This proves to be a useful model in quantifying synthetic and analytic tendencies of a language.

5. Challenges in Measurements

Since it is all about morpheme and word ratio, it can and does create a problem in the calculation. As Comrie (1981, p. 44) says, "Even in trying to apply the index of synthesis in practical terms, for instance by dividing the number of morphemes by the number of words, certain practical problems arise...perhaps the most obvious, ...is the question of establishing word boundaries,..." Following are the most prominent areas which clearly show how Comrie's remark is very practical and how one can easily face some immediate challenges in calculating the said ratio.

- Pronoun: Morpheme vs word ratio for personal pronouns has been a problem for the calculation. For these, it is always a problem as to what the morpheme vs word count should be in case of pronouns. For example, in the case of him one could look at it as 3rd person-masculine-singular accusative/dative marked, as compared to 'he' where there is no overt case marking for nominative case. Although van Gelderen (personal communication) stresses on counting both he and him as marked in English.
- Clitic: Clitic is also a problematic category. It plays a role between a free morpheme/word and an affix. Greenbergian paradigm has already been criticized for this issue as well regarding the definition of word. As Schwegler (1990, p. 20) states, "enclitic Latin -que 'and' is part of the word to which it attaches and is counted as a part of that word by the present tense of synthesis." For this paper, it is necessary to logically stipulate about the issue of the clitic. For instance, how

many words and how many morphemes would be counted for each of these-- it's, we've, can't etc.?

- **Derivational morphemes:** Derivational morphemes are called class changing morphemes. The affixes here literally create new words. At least that is what the traditional view is. However, if one considers that words like *hardly* and *highly* are already there in the lexicon as they are, rather than *hard + ly*, or *high + ly*, that is also not a straw argument then.

- **Inflectional morphemes:** This is another grey area, more than it appears to be in some cases. When the situation is again marked vs unmarked. If *goes* is more than two morphemes and marked, then what about *go*, when it appears in an agreement with a plural subject? English plural formation is one of those problematic situations. When the plural morpheme is overtly present there is no problem, but if it is not, then what should be the morpheme vs word count purely structurally?

For example, if *rats* are more than one morpheme, then what about *sheep* (plural) or *rat* (singular)?

- **Contraction:** Contraction and the notion of separability/displaceability can create a problem too. Words like *gonna* and *wanna* have been grammaticalized (van Gelderen, 2011) and behave as function words in many instances. But what about when they do not occur as grammaticalized tokens. Moreover, what about the word like *kinda*?

- **Speaker's intuition:** More than any definition or theoretical premises, speaker's intuition works as the ultimate deciding factor about word and word boundaries. Speakers vary in this respect and it is extremely deep-rooted in their system. Principle of separability, pause, semantic notion, isolatedness etc. all seem to work or not to work at all.

- Once a speaker has decided on *slowly* as being one word, then why people say *slowly* is built from *slow+ly*?

- If *doable* is one word and one morpheme, then why does a speaker feel like making unpack one word two morphemes?

Thus, all these issues need to be tackled well before any kind of quantitative experiment on the data. These will be addressed before the paper delves into quantifying the data.

6. American English

American English, or U.S. English, is (a set of dialects of) the English language used mostly in the United States of America. Approximately two-thirds of the world's native speakers of English live in the United States. The variety of American English that is considered by many speakers to be free from regional, ethnic, or cultural distinctions is the dialect known as General American English. As a distinct native variety of English, American English was first officially standardized in "An American Dictionary of the English Language" by Noah Webster in 1828. It is long time ago. Since then American English has undergone many changes as a language. Although people tend to distinguish this variety of English for its different spelling patterns from British English (BE) (for instance, *color*, *favor*, *fiber* as compared to *colour*, *favour*, *fibre* etc. in BE.), to mention the least, the pronunciation patterns are also different compared to BE. Popular examples would be the different 'r' sound and the syllable initial aspiration in voiceless plosive sounds in American English. However, all of these do not or should not create any problem in quantifying the analyticity/syntheticity structurally in the data here. Presumably, only new word formation or compounding can create difference in that regard. Moreover, since this study adopts American English as the baseline for the comparison with Indian English, elaborating on the

similarities and the differences between American English and British English will be redundant to the very purpose of the research.

7. Indian English

The language status of English in India is anything but simple. English is the lingua franca of India and is the language of so-called cultural and political elites, offering significant economic and social advantage to fluent speakers. English is one of twenty-two official languages of the Indian State (Pingali, 2009, p. 4). According to Crystal (2003, p.63), as of 2001, 200,350,000 people use English and 350,000 use it as L1. These make India a huge linguistic domain for English. English was introduced to Indians officially in 1835, by “Minutes on Education”, (Cuttis, 1953, p. 824) during the emergence of British colonial era. It is also known as Macaulay Minutes. Even after facing much criticism and disputes back then, this language still achieved a high social status.

Although scholars tend to agree and disagree on the topic of Indian English as a standard variety of English, it does not overshadow the predominant use of this language in the country. Many tend to say there is a difference between ‘Indian English’ and ‘English in India’. However, in this paper, the focus is more on the notion of Indian English as different variety of English. The English Indians use as a standard language in different registers is inherited from British during the colonial regime. Scholars like Kachru, Dasgupta, Bhatt, Pingali, Gargesh, Agnihotri, and many others have examined and talked about the situation of English in India in myriads of ways. According to Kachru’s (1990) World-Englishes classification, India belongs the outer circle. As far as the topics of exploration regarding Indian English is concerned, they have ranged from phonetics and phonology, to areas like morpho-syntax, variations, word formation, typology etc. However, in this paper, the morpho-syntax and lexical usage will potentially be the factors to decide on the syntheticity/ analyticity ground. For example, all the examples below show how the different instances can contribute to the syntheticity-analyticity dichotomy in Indian English. Example 1 is an instance where the stative verb is used in progressive form. It can create a difference in the synthetic/analytic quantification of the language.

1. You must be knowing him. (Sharma 2002, p.367)

In example 2, use of a particle makes the sentence marked. Here the particle off has only been used to emphasize the fact described in married. It can potentially create a difference in the analytic factor of the language. Use of articles (as example 3 shows) unlike the American variety is also said to be one more thing to add to this debate.

2. She married off without her parents’ consent. (Example 38; Pingali 2009, p.47)

3. Back to the square one. (Example 54.a; Pingali 2009, p.53)

The preference for not inverting auxiliaries or employing do-support is evident in spoken discourse (example 4). Moreover, using only instead of at all is also found in many Indian speakers of English, as example 5 shows.

4. You wrote it? (Instead of Did you write it?)

5. The bulb did not work only.

Although there is the possibility that all these vary from speaker to speaker, these tendencies can very well create a difference in the collective quantity of function words in the discourse.

8. Motivation

Looking at the abovementioned instances apparently gives an idea about some of the different (from American English) characteristics of Indian English. However, to categorize Indian

English as a different speech variety¹ would take more than just mentioning some “marked” instances. Kachru’s classification only refers to a vague understanding of different kinds of Englishes in terms of the language’s sociolinguistic status. No quantifiable distinction is made in terms of the actual typological aspects of the varieties. Although much complex in terms establishing and understanding the concepts themselves, syntheticity and/or analyticity can help categorize Indian English as a different variety or even shed light on the fact if that is not the case at all. Now the major question for this investigation is what kind of methodological standpoint can and will indicate both the synthetic and analytic nature of a particular variety.

9. General Methodology

The methodological standpoint for this research has been informed by Greenberg (1960, 1974), Schwegler (1990), & Szmrecsanyi (2012). However, at this point, it is necessary to clearly articulate the methodological adjustments employed for this investigation and the rationale for that. Some of the rationale has its source in the literature and some of them are logical stipulations to conduct this research.

9.1 Simplified definitions of Analytic and Synthetic language

- Synthetic Language: In linguistic typology, a synthetic language is said to be the one where the number or frequency of morphemes vs. their function or meaning is complex. That means the ratio of number and function of morphemes are not one to one, it is more complex.
Example: Old English, Sanskrit.
- Analytic Language: In linguistic typology, an analytic language is said to be the opposite of synthetic one. Here, the number and function ratio of morphemes is simple unlike it is in Synthetic. So, there are more morphemes to convey meaning or function (unlike one morpheme denoting many, or many morphemes denoting a single meaning), and hence the word order is comparatively strict. Morphemes here denote only one function, unlike what it does in a Synthetic type.
Example: Modern English, Bangla.

9.2 Approach

The methodology of this paper follows a rather balanced approach. Moreover, since this is a comparative study between Indian and American English, the fine-line distinction between word and morpheme equation should not have significant bearing on the overall findings. The general methodology for quantifying synthetic and analytic characteristics of speech varieties is that two different approaches of measuring the syntheticity and analyticity have been employed.

As for the data at hand, morpheme vs. word ratio is counted for four excerpts of English newspapers. For syntheticity, morpheme vs total word ratio and for analyticity, function word vs lexical item ratio have been calculated. Demonstratives, determiners, complementizers, prepositions, auxiliaries, copulas, modals, pronouns (without overt dative/accusative case marking), intensifiers (generally), conjunctions, & negations fall under the category of function words. Nouns, verbs, adjectives and adverbs count as lexical items. Inflections count as morphemes (most of the time). Following is the demonstration of the calculation technique:

¹ The terms like “language” and “speech variety” have been used interchangeably in this paper, but they denote two very different meanings in the field of sociolinguistics.

Example:

I was walking.

- Total number of words = 3 (I, was, & walking)
- Total number of morphemes = 1(I) + 2(was) + 2(Walking) = 5
- Function words = 2 (I & was)
- Lexical items = 1 (walking)

However, this demonstration does not alleviate the challenges mentioned earlier. For those, three major steps are taken. 1. Some Stipulations have been made. For example, dative/accusative pronouns, possessive pronouns, tens-marked auxiliaries (other than present) etc. would have complex word vs morpheme ratio. Derivational affixes would not count towards an extra morpheme. 2. Intuition will have a major role when there is a gray area. For example, inflectional marking when marked null would not count an extra morpheme (plural, irregular verb etc.). 3. Consistency of stipulations would be maintained. That means stipulations would be applied equally to all the data at hand so that none of the excerpt set has any individual deviation because of the stipulation.

10. Data

The data for this research are excerpts of four separate newspapers². Each of the newspapers is extremely popular and considered as representing the standard variety of English in their corresponding countries (target geographical locations). Four excerpts are of Indian English (IE), American English (AE), British English (BE), & Singaporean English (SE). The newspaper register is chosen for the research because it is a balanced representation of both spoken and written context. The occasion which all these four excerpts address is the 2015 world cup cricket match between Australia and New Zealand. The actual excerpts are there in the appendix section and the following table elaborates the details of the excerpts here:

Newspapers	Excerpt Size	Morphemes	Function Words	Lexical Words
The Times of India (IE)	253	308	131	122
The New York Times (AE)	212	264	82	182
The Telegraph (BE)	273	339	131	142
The Straight Time (SE)	258	312	109	149

Table 1 : Details of the excerpts

11. Analysis

The first two excerpts representing Indian English and American English have the synthetic index as 1.22 and 1.25 respectively. This means there is hardly any difference (.03) between the synthetic nature of these two varieties. This seems counter to the paper's primary assumption of hypothesizing these two as two different varieties. This minor difference in the two values also indicates that Indian English and American English have very little difference in their analytic nature as well. Moreover, the values of synthetic index for British English and Singaporean English are in the similar vein. All these findings straightforwardly reject any possibilities of these speech varieties, which look apparent different than one another, being different at all.

² See the appendix section for the content of the excerpts, title, date, and the authors.

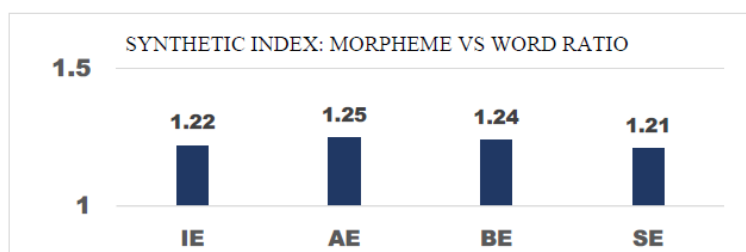


Figure 1: Synthetic Indexes

However, this feels counterintuitive. Also, Greenberg (1960, p. 194) says that an analytic language typically shows an index of 1-1.99 and a synthetic language shows 2-2.99. This means all these varieties would primarily be classified as analytic languages with little to no quantifiable difference between them. This also seems untrue. Moreover, this apparent absence of quantifiable difference calls for a separate quantificational procedure for the analytic nature of language. While calculating the analyticity for all these varieties at hand, the findings predict a stark deviation from the inference gained from calculating the synthetic index for the varieties. Following are the details.

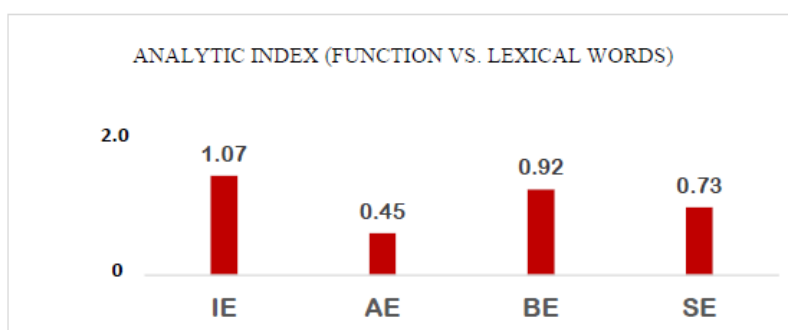


Figure 2: Analytic Indexes

These values mentioned in the figure above show there is a significant amount of “analytic” difference in any two varieties³. Topping them all is the difference between Indian English and American English-- 0.62. This indicates that Indian English is way more analytic than American English. For that matter, any variety here is significantly more or less analytic than the other. This creates a problem in deciphering the synthetic nature of any variety. As Greenberg used one index, synthetic, to describe both the synthetic and analytic nature of any language, going by only synthetic index would also predict these varieties to be hardly showing difference in analytic nature. Similarly, analytic index would wrongly predict these varieties to be extremely different from one another in their synthetic nature.

12. Conclusion

The analysis yields a few notable findings. Indian English comes up as a different speech variety (though slightly in the case of synthetic index but heavily in the case of analytic index). For that matter, every excerpt represents a different speech variety upon quantifying their synthetic/analytic nature. This so-called difference is not only visible in their nuanced instances,

³ Although not for analytic, the synthetic index difference between two languages ranges from .05-2.66 in Greenberg (1960, p.193). And no standard range for accepted differences is found in the literature.

it is indeed quantifiable. Synthetic index alone shows very little difference among the varieties on their synthetic/analytic nature. Analytic index yields a better quantifiable difference. Thus, two separate indexes are necessary to avoid misleading inferences about the properties of any variety. For e.g., the synthetic index alone presupposes that IE is slightly more analytic than AE, whereas the analytic index indicates otherwise. Similarly, the analytic index presupposes AE is very much more synthetic than IE, whereas the synthetic index indicates otherwise. See the figure below to understand how two indexes yield a much better quantifiable difference for any two varieties at hand.

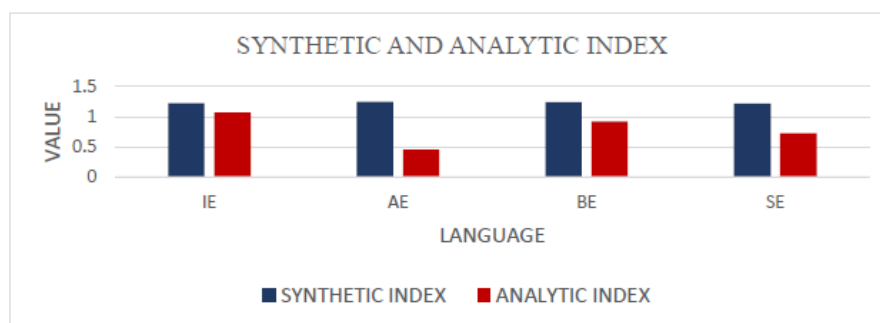


Figure 3: Comparing both types of indexes

13. Limitations and Future Implications

Although the investigation yields some nice comprehensible findings, this study has its own limitations. This study focuses on only one register in a restricted manner; context and register difference might affect the current findings. Moreover, calculations of different categories are contingent on deciding word boundaries, morphemes-per-word calculation, and validating what qualifies to be a function word and what not. And these are some difficult areas that will always create dispute. Also, the findings should only be considered as an informed inclination toward a different methodological framework, which may be strengthened through extensive investigation in the future. This study has the potential to create some larger and possibilities in the future. For example, applying the methodological framework used in this study to other registers of the same variety can help understand the overall nature of any variety in a particular context. Moreover, applying the present model to longer excerpts can help predict comprehensive understanding of the overall synthetic/analytic nature of the particular variety. Lastly, looking at how individual varieties going through the change can help to understand how any particular language would change its nature in the future.

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Appendix

Excerpts of four English Newspapers

1. The Times of India, Indian Newspaper

Australia had so many players to turn to under pressure: Clarke

<http://www.cricbuzz.com/cricket-series/cricket-news/71387/australia-had-so-many-players-to-turn-to-under-pressure-clarke> by G. Rajaraman, March 29, 2015

Michael Clarke's celebrations with the Australian team was interrupted when he had to leave for a dope test at the Melbourne Cricket Ground on Sunday but that did not stop him from admiring the set of players he had at his disposal during the successful campaign in the ICC Cricket World Cup. "I've got plenty of time to get back into that change room and celebrate with the team. I don't think we'll do too much (else) tonight. I think we'll stay in there and spend some time together. We've worked really hard as a group, and I think it's important in times like these you celebrate together," he said. "I think it was really important that we went on a victory lap to thank the supporters," Clarke said. "The support we've had throughout the whole tournament has been fantastic, and I do believe that's played a big part in us having success. I said that after the Ashes, and I believe this tournament is no different." Clarke said aggression was always been a part of the Australian teams he had been involved in. "I think it's about trying to take wickets as a bowler. It's about trying to score runs as a batsman. The rules of one-day cricket allowed my captaincy style to be as aggressive as I like to be. The fact you only have four fielders out makes you try and take wickets. If there's wickets in hand, the last 15-20 overs of a one-day match can be so destructive.

2. The New York Times, American Newspaper

Rising From Wreckage, Australia Sweeps to World Cup Title

https://www.nytimes.com/2015/03/30/sports/cricket/rising-from-wreckage-australia-sweeps-to-world-cup-title.html?ref=international&_r=1 by H. Richards, March 29, 2015

Australia completed its climb from the depths to the heights of world cricket on Sunday when it won its fifth World Cup, defeating New Zealand by seven wickets in the final at the Melbourne Cricket Ground. Less than two years ago, many of the same players departed the Champions Trophy, the last global tournament in the One-Day International format, winless and in disarray. "We've had an amazing journey the last couple of years," all-rounder James Faulkner said after receiving the Man of the Match trophy on Sunday. The team, coached by Darren Lehmann, who was appointed shortly after the Champions Trophy debacle, and led by captain Michael Clarke, displays the traditional Australian virtues of toughness, confidence and aggression. Its triumph was spearheaded by hugely effective bowling. The final lasted 499 deliveries, but the likely winner was clear after only four. That was when New Zealand's captain and batting catalyst Brendon McCullum had his off stump surgically removed by a delivery from Australian's left-arm paceman Mitchell Starc. "It was a little lucky", said Starc, later named Man of the Tournament. Luck had only so much to do with it: Starc also explained that he and the Australia bowling coach, Craig McDermott, had planned the sequence of deliveries that led to McCullum's demise.

3. The Telegraph, British English Newspaper

Cricket World Cup 2015: Our bowlers won final, says Michael Clarke, after Australia thrash New Zealand

<http://www.telegraph.co.uk/sport/cricket/cricket-world-cup/11502609/Cricket-World-Cup-2015-Our-bowlers-won-final-says-Michael-Clarke-after-Australia-thrash-New-Zealand.html> by S. Berry, March 29 2015

Michael Clarke gave the credit for his country's fifth World Cup to his bowlers. Australia's retiring one-day captain said: "Our bowlers have won us the World Cup. I think our batters certainly stood up and grabbed their opportunities, but I think our bowling performance in every single game has been exceptional, and none better than today." Clarke is one of several players retiring after this World Cup, but his timing was unusual in that he chose to announce it on the eve of the final. "I said yesterday it was the right time, and now I know it's the right time. There's no such thing as fairytales in sport but that's probably as close as it gets for me - not only to win a World Cup but to win it in front of your own fans. "It was a great final, and I think the two best teams in the World Cup were in the final and it just happened to be our day today," Clarke added. Clarke said he had not seen any of the send-offs which the Australians gave to the New Zealanders – an area of their game which made many neutrals support New Zealand in the final. "I don't think I gave a send-off to any NZ batsman. Maybe I was too far from the action, I don't know," Clarke said. "Obviously it's a World Cup final, there's passion, there's excitement, there's adrenalin running through the guys' bodies. Like I've said my whole career, you cop as good as you give, but I don't think there was anything that was below the belt." Brendon McCullum, as New Zealand's captain, made no complaint. "Look, it wasn't really discussed within the group. A send-off is a send-off. It's not something we are necessarily concerned about. Again, I think the focus should be on how well Australia played and how much they deserve this victory rather than any of those sort of minor issues on the way through. Yeah, I certainly don't want to go deep into that."

4. The Straits Time, Singaporean Newspaper

Size matters? Not so in this Cricket World Cup final

<http://www.straitstimes.com/sport/size-matters-not-so-in-this-cricket-world-cup-final?page=4> by D. McMahon, March 28, 2015

Whether or not size really does matter will be put to the test on Sunday. Opinions in this case are divided purely along the lines of national identity. Michael Clarke's Australians reckon it does matter. Brendon McCullum's New Zealanders, on the other hand, scoff at that idea. Of course, we're talking about the size of the arena on which the World Cup final is to be played. The historic Melbourne Cricket Ground, known as the MCG - or simply the 'G' to most cricket fans - is the sold-out venue and the debate centres on whether its long boundaries, rather than just a basic home-ground advantage, will put a dampener on New Zealand's big-hitting batsmen who have played all their earlier games in this tournament on their own, smaller grounds. When the first World Cup was played 40 years ago, a run rate of six an over was considered a psychological barrier because it denoted one run off every ball. However, like the symbolic four-minute mile, that has long been discarded on the back of an attacking spirit honed by both a surfeit of one-day internationals and Twenty20 games, as well as a quantum leap in the definition of attacking cricket. There is another key difference to consider. Back in 1975, when the Cup was played for the first time, each nation simply picked its five-day Test side to play the inaugural one-day world championship. Now, of course, Test players are not automatically included in one-day sides but are routinely replaced by an endless treadmill of ODI specialists.



বাংলা উপন্যাসে ‘উল্টি ভাষার আখ্যান বৈচিত্র্য

পূজা কর্মকার

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১৮৭১ সালে ব্রিটিশরা ভারতে ‘ক্রিমিনাল ট্রাইবস’ নামক একটি আইন তৈরি করেন যেখানে কোনো নির্দিষ্ট জনজাতিগোষ্ঠী ও সম্প্রদায়কে অপরাধী জনগোষ্ঠী বলে চিহ্নিত করা যায়। এটি একটি জামিন-অযোগ্য আইন ছিল। ১৮৯৭-এ ব্রিটিশরা এই আইনটিকে সংশোধন করে হিজড়েদের এর সঙ্গে যুক্ত করেন, যেখানে হিজড়েরা সন্দেহভাজন শিশু-অপহরণকারী জনজাতি হিসেবে চিহ্নিত হয়। পরবর্তীকালে ১৯৩৬-এ পণ্ডিত জওহরলাল নেহরু ‘ক্রিমিন্যাল ট্রাইবস অ্যাক্ট’র এই অপরাধমূলক বিচারব্যবস্থাকে ভয়ঙ্কর মনে করে এই আইনটি সংশোধন করেন। সুতরাং আজ নয় সুদূর অতীত থেকেই ‘হিজড়ে’ নামক একটি গোষ্ঠীর অন্তর্ভুক্ত রূপান্তরকামীদের প্রতি তথাকথিত মূলস্রোতের তরফে দ্রুতবর্জন বরাবরই ছিল। এই সামাজিক চাপ থাকা সত্ত্বেও লেখক বেশিদিন কলম ধরে রাখতে পারেননি। বাংলা সাহিত্যে ‘হিজড়ে’ বিষয়ক উপন্যাসের যে ধারা কমল চক্রবর্তীর ‘ব্রহ্মভার্গব পুরাণ’ (প্রথম প্রকাশ ১৯৯৩ ও ২০১১ সালে বঙ্কিম পুরস্কার প্রাপ্ত) দিয়ে শুরু হয়েছিল সেই ধারাকে পূর্ণতা দিয়েছে স্বপ্নময় চক্রবর্তীর ‘হলদে গোলাপ’ (প্রথম প্রকাশ ২০১৫ সাল, সেই বছর আনন্দ পুরস্কার প্রাপ্ত), এই চলনের মাঝে রয়েছে সোমনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় (বর্তমানে রূপান্তরিত মানবী বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়)-এর ‘অন্তহীন অন্তরীন প্রোষিতভর্তৃকা’ (২০০২ সাল)। এই মাঝের উপন্যাসটি নিছক শুধু সেতুবন্ধনের কাজই করেনি, এই প্রথম হিজড়ে সম্পর্কে সাধারণের ধোঁয়াশাচ্ছন্ন ধারণার সমস্ত রহস্যময়তা ভেদ করে এক বাস্তবসম্মত ‘বৈজ্ঞানিক সত্য’ নির্মাণ করল ‘অন্তহীন অন্তরীন প্রোষিতভর্তৃকা’। একথা বিশেষভাবে উল্লেখ্য, উপন্যাসিক সোমনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায় তাঁর ব্যক্তিগত জীবনে হিজড়ে মহিলার সঙ্গে প্রত্যক্ষভাবে যুক্ত ছিলেন এবং হিজড়ে জীবনের রোজনাট্যকে তিনি খুব সরাসরি উপলব্ধি করেন। পশ্চিমবঙ্গ তথা গোটা ভারতের ‘তৃতীয় লিঙ্গ’ আন্দোলনের প্রেক্ষিতে মানবী বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়ের ভূমিকা ও অবদান সম্পর্কে অবগত হলে বোঝা যাবে এই হিজড়ে তথা রূপান্তরিতের জীবনযন্ত্রণার কথা বলা যেন তারই নিজ জীবনের সরাসরি আত্মকথন। ঠিক যেমন একজন দলিতের কলমের লেখা একজন অদলিত লেখকের থেকে অনেক বেশি জীবন্ত হয়ে ওঠে, এই উপন্যাসেও সেই একই স্বরের অনুরণন। যদিও ‘ন্যারেটিভ’ এবং ‘বাস্তবতা’ এই দুইয়ের মধ্যে মিল রাখার দায়ভার উপন্যাসিকের নেই, ফলত যৌনাচারের ন্যারেটিভ গুলি সবসময় ছবছ বাস্তবের প্রতিফলন হবে - এটা ভেবে নেওয়া ভুল। কারণ এক্ষেত্রে অনেক সময় চরিত্র নিজের গতিতে ইচ্ছামতো চলে বেড়ায়, কলমের বাধা মানে না। উল্লেখ্য, কমল চক্রবর্তীর ‘ব্রহ্মভার্গব পুরাণ’কে হিজড়ে জীবন নিয়ে উপন্যাস রচনার প্রথম পদক্ষেপ বলা গেলেও এই উপন্যাসে আসলে হিজড়ে সম্পর্কে সাধারণের রহস্যময় কাল্পনিক ধারণাই গ্রথিত হয়েছে, সর্বোপরি লেখক এখানে হিজড়েদের উভলিঙ্গ করে দেখাতে চেয়েছেন, এই ধারণা হিজড়ে সম্পর্কে কোনো সঠিক বার্তা দেয় না। কিন্তু উপন্যাসের বিষয় যেহেতু ‘হিজড়ে’, যা সমাজের কাছে এখনও একটি ‘বিতর্কিত’ বিষয় হিসেবেই ধরা দেয়, যাদের জীবনচর্যা ও সংস্কৃতি তথাকথিত ‘মূলস্রোতের মানুষ’দের কাছে ‘সংস্কৃতি’

হিসেবেই বিবেচ্য নয়, যাদের যৌন পরিচয় মানুষের কাছে এখনও ধোঁয়াশাচ্ছন্ন, সেই ‘হিজড়ে’ সম্পর্কে সাহিত্য ও সংস্কৃতিক পরিসরে আলোচনায় বাস্তবতার হুবহু প্রতিফলন না হলেও একটি সাবধানতা (বৈজ্ঞানিক সত্য নির্মাণ) ও সামাজিক দায় আপনা হতেই বর্তায়। ‘অন্তহীন অন্তরীন প্রোষিতভর্তৃকা’ উপন্যাসটি সেই দায় নিয়েই হিজড়াদের বিশেষ ‘উল্টি’ ভাষাকে এই প্রথম চরিত্রের মুখ দিয়ে এতটাই জীবন্ত করে পাঠকের সামনে তুলে আনলেন, যার দ্বারা সেই সমাজের স্বতন্ত্র মৌলিক সংস্কৃতি ও তাঁদের গহীন মানসিক উচাটন সম্পর্কে পাঠক সমাজ খুব সহজেই অবগত হতে পারলেন।

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হিজড়াদের উল্টিভাষা আসলে ছদ্মভাষা, ভাষার ব্যবহারে এহেন ছদ্ম রূপ নেওয়ার কারণ তথাকথিত ভদ্রসমাজের হেটেরোসেক্সুয়াল (বিষমকামী) মানুষদের কাছে নিজেদের পরিচয় গোপন রাখা। নিজ পরিমণ্ডলে স্বচ্ছন্দ বিচরণের জন্যই এই কৌশল। বলা যায়, এই গুহ্যভাষাকে ব্যবহার করে হিজড়েরা মূলস্রোতের মানুষদের প্রতি একরকম শোধ নিচ্ছে যেন। বিশিষ্ট ভাষা গবেষক কিরা হল হিজড়াদের মুখের ভাষাকে ‘হিজড়া ফার্সী’ বলেছেন, বলা হয়েছে হিজড়াদের পূর্ব প্রজন্ম নাকি একসময় মোঘল রাজদরবারের অংশ ছিল।^১ যদিও ভারতবর্ষের হিজড়াদের উল্টিভাষার ক্ষেত্রে সরাসরি একথা বলা যায় কিনা এ নিয়ে কোনো গবেষণা এখনো হাতে পাওয়া যায়নি। উল্লেখ্য, হিজড়াদের ‘উল্টি’ ভাষা প্রথম ঠাঁই পায় ভক্তিপ্রসাদ মল্লিকের ‘অপরাধ জগতের ভাষা ও শব্দকোষ’ গ্রন্থটিতে। এই গ্রন্থে হিজড়ে সম্পর্কে তিনি লিখেছেন, ‘কঠিনতম পরীক্ষা হিজড়াদের সঙ্গে সাক্ষাৎকার। ...এদের ব্যবহার অতিমাত্রায় অশোভন অমার্জিত। এদের সঙ্গে বেশিক্ষণ আলাপ করাও অস্বস্তিকর। ... ওদের বিকৃত ভাবভঙ্গি আচরণ গবেষণার খাতিরেও বেশিক্ষণ লক্ষ্য করা কঠিন।^২ আরও বলেছেন, ‘ভারতবর্ষে হিজড়ারা একটি গোষ্ঠীভুক্ত। পাশ্চাত্যের দেশগুলিতে এরা গোষ্ঠীবদ্ধ নয়। যুরোপ আমেরিকাতে এরা সাধারণ মানুষের মতো কাজকর্ম করে থাকে। এদেশের হিজড়েরা স্বশ্রেণীর মধ্যে আটকে আছে। অত্যন্ত পিছিয়ে পড়া মানুষ।’^৩ হিজড়ে সম্পর্কে এহেন কষ্টকল্পনা যে ভক্তিপ্রসাদবাবুর একান্ত নিজ সীমিত ক্ষেত্রসমীক্ষা অভিজ্ঞতাপ্রসূত এবং অবৈজ্ঞানিক, সে আলোচনায় পরে আসব। তবে এ প্রসঙ্গে মানবী বলেছেন, ‘আমরা আগেই ভক্তিপ্রসাদ বাবুর লেখায় জেনেছি, হিজড়েরা অত্যন্ত পিছিয়ে পড়া মানুষ। তাই অনুমান করতে পারি, ওই পিছিয়ে পড়া মানুষ মূলস্রোতের তথাকথিত ভদ্র সভ্য পরিশীলিত সমাজে নিজেদের যৌনতার (যা প্রচলিত সমাজে বিকৃত বলে ধিকৃত ও অত্যাচারিত) আসল কাহিনি গোপন করার জন্যই নিজেদের এমন সম্প্রদায়, সংস্কৃতি এবং ভাষা গড়ে নেন, যে ভাষার খোলা ছাড়ালে তথাকথিত শিষ্টজনেদের শোভন সমাজ গেল গেল রব তুলবে। আমার মনে হয়, ‘অপরাধ জগতের ভাষা’ গ্রন্থে হিজড়াদের ভাষা স্থান পাওয়ার অর্থ, এ কথাটি অবিসংবাদিত ভাবে সত্য হয়ে যাওয়া যে হিজড়েরা অপরাধ জগতের বাসিন্দা।... আমাদের সমাজে ‘যৌনতা’ শব্দটির সঙ্গে ‘অপরাধ’ শব্দটির কোথাও একটি যোগসাজশ আছে এবং যৌনতা প্রচলিত পথ ছাড়লে তো রক্ষা নেই।’^৪ ‘অন্তহীন অন্তরীন প্রোষিতভর্তৃকা’ উপন্যাসের শেষে হিজড়াদের উল্টি

ভাষার কিছু শব্দসমষ্টির একটি তালিকা প্রদান করেন মানবী, এ প্রসঙ্গে তিনি বলেন, ‘এই প্রান্তিক – নিষিদ্ধ জগতের ভাষা বড়ো পিচ্ছিল, খুব তাড়াতাড়ি রঙ বদলায়, নিজেরই স্বার্থে। তাই ভাষার অভিধান অপেক্ষা ‘অনুধাবন’ এক্ষেত্রে বেশি জরুরি। ...হিজড়েদের সঙ্গে আমার মেলামেশা কোনো শোভন বেষ্টিত সম্পর্কে নয়। বরং অনেকটাই ঘটে যাওয়া আবশ্যিকতায়, অন্তরের তাগিদে। তাই যখন হিজড়ে-মা তার মেয়েকে বলেন, ‘পারিক তোকে ধুরেও যাবে’ – তখন এ শব্দের অর্থ লিখতে হয় শালীন সমাজের নিরুচ্চার শাসানিতে ‘পুরুষ সঙ্গী তোকে যৌনকাজও করে যাবে’ কিন্তু যথার্থ অর্থে হিজড়ে মা বলতে চাইছেন তাঁর মেয়েকে, তা হলো ‘ভাতার মিনসে তোকে সঙ্গমও করে যাবে’। হিজড়েরা অশালীন, অসামাজিক – তাদের ভাষা উলঙ্গ, স্ল্যাং- সেটাই স্বাভাবিক। সেই স্বাভাবিকতার ‘দোহাই’ দিয়ে এবং মান্য জগতের মানহানি না হওয়ার কথা মাথায় রেখেই হিজড়েদের ব্যবহৃত কিছু শব্দের অর্থ দিলাম, সভ্যতার একটি ‘মাবামাঝি’ মানদণ্ডের বিচারে, বাকিটা পাঠক ‘অনুধাবন’ ‘অনুমান’ করে নেবেন।’^৫

‘অন্তহীন অন্তরীন প্রোষিতভর্তৃকা’র প্রণয় নিবেদন বুঝতেও আমাদের অনেকটা সময় লেগে যায়, সমকামী পুরুষটি তথাকথিত মূলস্রোত থেকে বেরিয়ে হিজড়ে মহল্লায় যোগদান করে লিঙ্গচ্ছেদনের সাহস কোথা থেকে অর্জন করল বুঝতে গিয়ে পাঠকও খানিক অপ্রস্তুত হয়ে পড়েন। কাহিনীকে অনাবশ্যক মুখরোচক করে তোলার কোনো চেষ্টা এখানে নেই। হিজড়েদের রহস্যময় করে দেখাটা আমাদের স্বভাব, এই উপন্যাস তারই একটা কাউন্টার পার্ট। আমাদের বুঝে নিতে হয় নতুন এক আখ্যানের ভাষাকে, যে ভাষা নিজেদের অস্তিত্বকে টিকিয়ে রাখার ভাষা। এই উল্টিভাষা জীবনের যৌন অবদমনের স্তর থেকে উঠে আসে বলেই তথাকথিত সভ্য মানুষের কাছে এ ধরনের ভাষা ‘স্ল্যাং’। কিন্তু হিজড়ে সমাজের গহীন মানসিক স্তর বুঝতে গেলে এদের ‘স্ল্যাং’কেই বুঝতে হয়, উপন্যাসের চলন, সংলাপ, ভাষার ব্যবহার এবং সর্বোপরি পাঠকের সুবিধার্থে উল্টিভাষার একটি দীর্ঘ অভিধান রচনা যে আসলে ঔপন্যাসিকের দীর্ঘ গবেষণারই ফল তা আমাদের বুঝতে অসুবিধা হয়না। যাকে হিজড়েদের ভাষা ও সংস্কৃতি নিয়ে প্রথম বৈজ্ঞানিক যুক্তিনিষ্ঠ পরিশ্রমসাধ্য গবেষণা বলা যেতে পারে। হিজড়েদের ভাষার একটি ব্যাপক অংশ জুড়ে রয়েছে স্ল্যাং। যেমন, আড়িয়াল পাক্কি (দারুন পুরুষ), ধুরপিঠ (সঙ্গম), কোতি (নারীস্বভাবা পুরুষ), কেঁচকে পারিক (অল্পবয়সী পুরুষসঙ্গী), ট্যাপকা (কিশোর সঙ্গী), পারিক-পাট্টা (পুরুষ সঙ্গম), চিপটি (যৌনাঙ্গ), বারকান্সি (বেশ্যা) ইত্যাদি অজস্র শব্দ রয়েছে, যার মধ্যে পেশাভিত্তিক শব্দও পাওয়া যায়। অভ্র বসু তাঁর ‘বাংলা স্ল্যাং: সমীক্ষা ও অভিধান’ গ্রন্থে ‘স্ল্যাং’ নিয়ে কাজের অভিজ্ঞতা প্রসঙ্গে বলেছেন, ‘কোনো শব্দকে স্ল্যাং হিসেবে সনাক্ত করার ব্যাপারটি একেবারেই Subjective। একই শব্দ কারো বিচারে স্ল্যাং, কারো বিচারে স্ল্যাং নয়। ...কাজ করতে গিয়ে বুঝেছি স্ল্যাং বিশুদ্ধ ভাষাতাত্ত্বিক বিষয় নয়। সমাজতত্ত্ব, মনস্তত্ত্ব, ইত্যাদি বিষয়ও এর সঙ্গে জড়িয়ে আছে।’^৬ কিন্তু ভক্তিপ্রসাদবাবুর হিজড়ে সম্পর্কে পর্যবেক্ষণ ও নিরীক্ষণ সবার থেকে ভিন্নতর এবং উল্লেখ্য, ‘হিজড়াদের ভাষা ভাষাতাত্ত্বিক গবেষকদের গবেষণায় প্রভূত খোরাক জোগাতে পারবে। বিকৃত উচ্চারণ এবং কণ্ঠস্বরের বৈচিত্রের সঙ্গে শারীরিক ও মানসিক বিকৃতি ও স্বাতন্ত্র্যের যোগ কতটা তা কে জানে! ভাষাবিজ্ঞানী, মনোবিজ্ঞানী, জীববিজ্ঞানীর সমবেত চেষ্টায় একাজ সম্ভবপর। ...হিজড়াদের কণ্ঠস্বরের বিকৃতির জন্য হয়তো তাদের যৌনবিকৃতি

দায়ী। কণ্ঠস্বরের বৈচিত্র্য হিজড়াদের পরিচিতি বলা যায়। যৌনবিকৃতি এদের জীবনে এনে দিয়েছে ‘যৌন চেতনা’র অভাব। হিজড়াদের প্রাত্যহিক জীবনযাত্রায় বিকৃতির লক্ষণ পরিস্ফুট। এদের চলন বলন ইঙ্গিত ইশারা সব কিছু সাধারণ মানুষ (নারী ও পুরুষ) থেকে স্বতন্ত্র। হিজড়াদের ভাষা নিয়ে ব্যাপক গবেষণার বিশেষ প্রয়োজন রয়েছে।^৭ প্রাবন্ধিক শান্তনু সরকার তাঁর সুলিখিত প্রবন্ধ ‘হলদে গোলাপ উপন্যাস কিংবা অপরতার সংবেদী নির্মাণ কিংবা যৌনতার বিজ্ঞান’-তে ভক্তিপ্রসাদ মল্লিকের গ্রন্থ প্রসঙ্গে বলেছেন, ‘তিনি যেভাবে নানান বৃত্তিকে অতিসরলীকরণ করে ‘অপরাধ’-এর বৃত্তি হিসেবে চিহ্নিত করে দেন তাকে আমরা এই সময়ে এসে ভাষাবিজ্ঞান, বা সমাজবিজ্ঞানের ছাত্র হিসেবে সমর্থন করতে পারি না’।^৮ শৈলীবিজ্ঞানীগণ সমাজভাষাবিজ্ঞানের একটি গুরুত্বপূর্ণ দিক হিসেবে ‘রেজিস্টার’-এর কথা বলেন। জন্মগতভাবে কেউ হিজড়ে হয় না ফলত হিজড়াদের ব্যবহৃত ‘উল্টি’ ভাষা কোনো হিজড়েরই মাতৃভাষা নয়। মহল্লায় যোগ দেওয়ার পর তাঁদের এই ভাষা শিখে নিতে হয়। ‘উল্টি’ একটি গুহ্যভাষা হয়েও নিজেদের মধ্যে রেজিস্টার তৈরী করে নিয়েছে, এই কারণে উপন্যাসের চরিত্ররা যে ভাষা পেশার কাজে ব্যবহার করে সে ভাষা গুরুমার সামনে ব্যবহার করে না। আবার যৌনপেশার কাজে কিছু শব্দ আলাদা করে ব্যবহার হয়, যেমন ‘ডবল ডেকার’ (উল্টি ভাষায় যার অর্থ উভকামী, অভ্র বসু যার অর্থ করেছেন খুব লম্বা চুড়া বিরাট চেহারার মহিলা)^৯, বাটু সালসা (পুরুষ যৌনকর্মী), নিরমা পতানো (বীর্যস্থলন করা), ঝিল্লি (বীর্য), নথ্‌ভাঙা (প্রথম যৌন-সঙ্গম) ইত্যাদি। ‘বাধাই’ করা অর্থাৎ ট্রেনে-বাসে পয়সা তোলা হিজড়াদের মূল পেশা, এই পেশাভিত্তিক কিছু শব্দ হল ছল্লা (ভিক্ষা করে পয়সা তোলা), দাগ খাওয়া (দীক্ষা নেওয়া) ইত্যাদি। ভক্তিপ্রসাদবাবু যেভাবে হিজড়াদের কণ্ঠস্বরের ‘বিকৃতি’র জন্য তাঁদের ‘যৌন বিকৃতি’কে দায়ী করেছেন তার কারণ তিনি তাঁদের সমাজতত্ত্ব ও মনস্তত্ত্বের দিকটি অনুধাবন করেননি, কেবলমাত্র ভাষাতাত্ত্বিক দিকটির কঙ্কালসার বিশ্লেষণ করে গেছেন। ফলত ক্ষেত্রসমীক্ষার সময় অনেক ভ্রান্ত ধারণার দ্বারা চালিত হয়েছেন। প্রথমত, দু’জন প্রাপ্তবয়স্কের সম্মতিসূচক যৌনাচার একান্ত গোপন ঘনিষ্ঠ যৌন সম্পর্ক ‘প্রকৃতিসম্মত’ হোক বা সাধারণের চোখে ‘বিকৃত’ - এই গোপনীয়তার অধিকারে হস্তক্ষেপ করা সংবিধানের ২১নং মৌলিক অধিকারের ধারা অনুযায়ী এজিয়ার বহির্ভূত। আর দ্বিতীয়ত, জন্মগতভাবে প্রাপ্ত পুরুষ কণ্ঠকে অস্বীকার করা এবং নারী কণ্ঠকে আত্মস্থ করার চেষ্টা হিজড়াদের কণ্ঠে এক নারী-পুরুষ মিশ্র স্বরের জন্ম দেয়। যা তাঁদের ভাষার শব্দার্থ তত্ত্বকে বিশেষভাবে প্রভাবিত করে। ভক্তিপ্রসাদবাবু একটিই চমৎকার বিষয় পর্যবেক্ষণ করেছেন, তা হল ‘উল্টি’ভাষার ধ্বনিতত্ত্ব প্রসঙ্গে, তিনি বলছেন, ‘হিজড়াদের কথাবার্তায় ঘৃষ্ট (affricate) মূর্ধ (retroflex) এবং উষ্মধ্বনি (fricative) ‘হ’-এর প্রাধান্য লক্ষিত। এছাড়া কথায় কথায় অনুপ্রাস অলংকার।’^{১০} যেমন ব্রহ্মভার্গব উপন্যাসে কাঁদল উৎসবের গানে ধরা পড়ে অনুপ্রাসের বাহুল্য, ‘তোমকো বুলাইগা/ তোমকো বুলাই করকে/ ময়নে পানি পিলায়গা/ পানি পিলায়গা/ ময়নে পানি পিলায়গা/ মালাই খিলায়গা/ ময়নে পাকিট সিলাইগা।’^{১১}

মানুষের প্রাকৃতিক লিঙ্গ পরিচয় (Sexual Identity) ও সাংস্কৃতিক লিঙ্গ পরিচয় (Gender Identity) – এই দুটি আসলে অভিন্ন নয়। ‘Sex’ ও ‘Gender’ সাধারণত এই দুইয়ের মধ্যে পার্থক্যকে গুরুত্ব দিয়ে ভাবা হয় না। ‘Sex’ বলতে প্রধানত শারীরবৃত্তীয় পরিচয়কে (লিঙ্গ পরিচয়) বোঝায়, অন্যদিকে ‘Gender’ অর্থাৎ যৌন পরিচয় ও সামাজিক পরিচয়কে নির্দেশ করে। একজন পূর্ণাঙ্গ মানুষের জন্মসূত্রে প্রাপ্ত লিঙ্গ পরিচয় অনুযায়ী তাঁর যৌন পরিচয় তৈরি নাও হতে পারে। যদিও বেশিরভাগ ক্ষেত্রেই একজন শিশু সমাজ নির্দিষ্ট লিঙ্গ পরিচয়যুক্ত যৌন পরিচয় নিয়েই সচেতনভাবে বড়ো হতে থাকে। কিন্তু যা কিছু আমাদের নৈতিকবোধে স্থির, মস্তিষ্ক নির্দিষ্ট, ও একমাত্র ‘স্বাভাবিক’ বলে মনে হয় তাই-ই শেষ কথা নয়, আমাদের সীমিত ভাবনার বাইরে আরও অনেক ঘটনা ‘স্বাভাবিকভাবেই’ সুপ্ত হয়ে থাকে যা আমাদের চোখে ‘অস্বাভাবিক’। অস্বাভাবিক কারণ তা সংখ্যালঘুর স্বাভাবিকতা বলে, যা সংখ্যাগুরু রাজনীতির ধরা ছোঁয়ার বাইরে। আমাদের সীমিত মানসিক পরিধির সমাজে ‘যৌনতা’ নির্দিষ্ট দুটি বিভাজন মাত্র- নারী পুরুষের সঙ্গে সঙ্গমে তৃপ্ত হবেন এবং পুরুষ নারীর সঙ্গে। তাই বেঁচে থাকার উপায় হিসাবে নিজেদের মানুষ বলে চিহ্নিতকরণের প্রয়োজনেই দরকার ছিল এই তৃতীয় প্রবাহের। নারী-পুরুষের শিল্প আর যোনির যৌন পরিচয়ের বিপরীতে আরও একটি ‘ভিন্ন’ যৌনতার মানুষেরা থাকেন (ভক্তিশ্রীসাদ যাদের ‘বিকৃত’ বলে চিহ্নিত করেছেন), যাদের আমরা ‘অন্য’ অথবা ‘Other’ জানি। এই ‘অপর’- রাই ‘তৃতীয় লিঙ্গ’ অথবা ‘তৃতীয় সত্তা’ অথবা ‘তৃতীয় যৌনতা’র মানুষ হিসাবে তথাকথিত মূলস্রোতের মানুষের (হেটেরোসেক্সুয়াল) কাছে চিহ্নিত হতে থাকে। এই চিহ্নায়ন একদিকে যেমন অধিকার ছিনিয়ে নেওয়ার গল্প বলে অন্যদিকে এই ‘মান্যায়ন’ গর্বেরও বটে। ‘তৃতীয় লিঙ্গ’ের ইংরেজি প্রতিশব্দ ‘Third gender’ অথবা ‘Third sex’। ‘তৃতীয় লিঙ্গ’ নামকরণ একটি বৃহৎ পরিধিকে নির্দিষ্ট করে ঠিকই তবে ‘LGBT’ (Lesbian, Gay, bisexual, Transgender) শব্দবন্ধে ‘তৃতীয় লিঙ্গ’রা আরো সুনির্দিষ্ট হয়ে ‘তৃতীয় লিঙ্গ’ের যৌন পরিচয়ের ধোঁয়াশাচ্ছন্নতাকে কাটিয়ে তোলে। হিজড়ে সমাজ এই ‘LGBT’ এর ‘Trans’দের মধ্যে পড়ছেন। বর্তমানে ‘Third Gender’ শব্দবন্ধের চাইতে ‘LGBT’ শব্দবন্ধের প্রচলন ও ব্যবহার অনেক বেশি। আবার লিঙ্গ পরিচয়ের ঊর্ধ্বে যৌন পরিচয়টিকেই বেশি গুরুত্ব দিতে চান বলে ‘তৃতীয় লিঙ্গ’ের বদলে অনেকেই তৃতীয় সত্তা, ভিন্ন যৌনতা, অন্য যৌনতা ইত্যাদি বলতে স্বচ্ছন্দ বোধ করেন।

হিজড়ে সম্পর্কে বাস্তবিক বৈজ্ঞানিক ধারণা ও অবস্থানের স্পষ্টতা প্রয়োজন। জন্মগতভাবে কেউই হিজড়ে নন, ‘হিজড়ে’ আসলে একটি বৃত্তি বা পেশার নাম। অন্যদিকে, সমকামী বা রূপান্তরকামী মানুষ মাত্রই তিনি হিজড়ে নন, তবে একজন হিজড়ে সবসময়ই রূপান্তরকামী। মানসিক ও আচরণগতভাবে নারীসুলভ হওয়ার অপরাধে পরিবার ও সমাজ থেকে বহিস্কৃত শরীরে পুরুষ চিহ্ন বহনকারী একজন মানুষ যখন হিজড়ে মহল্লায় যোগদান করেন তখন সেই একই পেশার সঙ্গে যুক্ত মানুষগুলোর সঙ্গে বসবাসের কারণে ধীরে ধীরে তাঁর একটা নিজস্ব সমাজ ও সংস্কৃতি গড়ে ওঠে, যা নিজ গুণে ও বৈশিষ্ট্যে স্বতন্ত্র। দক্ষিণ এশিয়ার বিশেষত ভারত, বাংলাদেশ, পাকিস্তানেই প্রধানত হিজড়ে বৃত্তি রয়েছে। ভক্তিশ্রীসাদ মল্লিক কথিত ইওরোপ আমেরিকায় বৈকি পৃথিবীর আর কোথাও হিজড়ে গোষ্ঠীর সন্ধান নেই, থাকলেও সেই গোষ্ঠীর নাম ‘হিজড়ে’ নয়, তাঁদের জীবিকা, সংস্কৃতি, জীবনযাপন ভিন্ন। তারা ব্যাপক

অর্থে রূপান্তরকামী হতে পারে কিন্তু হিজড়ে গোষ্ঠীভুক্ত রূপান্তরকামী নয়। হিজড়েদের পাশাপাশি বাকি রূপান্তরকামীদের যৌন পছন্দের কথা একটু খুঁটিয়ে ভাবলেই দেখা যাবে একজন শহুরে নারীসুলভ পুরুষ এবং মহল্লাতে যোগ দেওয়া একজন হিজড়ে (যিনি প্রথমে একজন পুরুষ সমকামীই) – এই দুইয়ের মধ্যে মানসিক টানাপোড়েনের মূলগত কোন পার্থক্য নেই, পার্থক্য শুধু সাজপোশাক, শিক্ষা ও সাংস্কৃতিগত। একজন নারীসুলভ সমকামী পুরুষই রূপান্তরকামী হয়ে ওঠেন, ঠিক যেমন হিজড়েরা দীর্ঘদিন মহল্লাতে বসবাসের পর লিঙ্গচ্ছেদনে মরিয়া হয়ে ওঠেন। উইকিপিডিয়া বলছে, ‘Hijra’ একটি উর্দু শব্দ, যার মূল উৎস ‘Hjr’ অর্থাৎ ‘leaving one’s tribe’। আরাবান (মতান্তরে ইরারাবান) দেবতার উপাসক বলে হিজড়েদের আরেকটি নাম আরাবানী। উর্দুতে যাদের বলা হয় ‘Khwaja sara’ অর্থাৎ ‘খোজা নারী’। এ প্রসঙ্গে ‘Eunuch’-এর কথা মাথায় আসতে পারে কিন্তু ‘হিজড়ে’ আর ‘Eunuch’ এক পরিভাষা নয়, দুটিরই সামাজিক প্রতিবেশ ভিন্ন। ‘Eunuch’ অর্থাৎ ‘খোজা পুরুষ’, তবে খোজা হওয়া আর খোজা করে দেওয়া এক নয়, হিজড়েরা স্ব-ইচ্ছায় লিঙ্গকর্তন করে থাকেন। বেশিরভাগ ক্ষেত্রেই দেখা গেছে একজন নারী সুলভ সমকামী পুরুষ বিশ্বস্ত ও স্থায়ী মানসিক এবং যৌন সম্পর্ক না পেয়ে হিজড়ে সমাজে যোগদান করেছেন। হিজড়েরা আসলে অন্য যৌনতার মানুষদের গড়ে তোলা একটি বিশেষ সমাজের প্রতিনিধি। নিজের কাছে তাঁর যৌন পরিচয় এতটাই যন্ত্রণাদায়ক হয়ে ওঠে যে প্রাণসংশয় উপেক্ষা করে লিঙ্গচ্ছেদনে মরিয়া হয়ে ওঠেন। এক্ষেত্রে শুধুমাত্র সামাজিক পরিচয় নয় জন্মসূত্রে প্রাপ্ত লিঙ্গ পরিচয়টিকেও সরাসরি অস্বীকার করে শুধু অন্তরঙ্গ নয় বহিরঙ্গেরও রূপ পরিবর্তন করার চূড়ান্ত এক মানসিক সিদ্ধান্ত বলা যায়। ‘মানসিক সিদ্ধান্ত’ বলা হল কারণ ব্যক্তিটি নিজ রূপ পরিবর্তনের কামনা করছেন বাস্তবিক লিঙ্গ পরিবর্তন তখনও হয়নি, তাই-ই তিনি রূপান্তরকামী। হিজড়ে সমাজে লিঙ্গচ্ছেদন পরম পুণ্যের কাজ। লাল কাপড় পরিয়ে, মাথায় সিঁদুর দিয়ে ১০দিন ধরে মাদকদ্রব্যে আচ্ছন্ন করে রেখে লিঙ্গচ্ছেদ করা হয়। যে রক্তপাত ঘটে, এঁদের বিশ্বাস অনুযায়ী তা পুরুষরক্তের নির্গমণ। এই রক্ত একটি পাত্রে সংগ্রহ করে রাখা হয়, ও ছিন্ন লিঙ্গটি অন্য একটি পাত্রে ভাসিয়ে দেওয়া হয়। এখন মানুষটি মানসিক ভাবে পুরোপুরি নারী ও শারীরিকভাবে পুরোপুরি হিজড়ে হয়ে উঠলেন। বিষমকামীরা হিজড়েদের ‘Cross-dresser’ অথবা ‘Transvestism’ এর একটি সার্থক দৃষ্টান্ত হিসেবে দেখতে পারেন তবে একটু গভীরে ভাবলে বোঝা যাবে, হিজড়েদের তরফে এই ‘Cross-dressing’ আলাদা করে কোনো সচেতনতা বহন করে না, কারণ তাঁরা নিজেদের নারী হিসেবে আত্মপ্রকাশ ঘটানোকে তাঁদের স্বভাবসিদ্ধ আচরণ বলে মনে করেন। বর্তমানে চিকিৎসাশাস্ত্রের বিকাশ ও হিজড়েদের মানসিকতা আধুনিক হওয়ায় আর্থিকভাবে সচ্ছলরা যন্ত্রণামুক্ত পথ বেছে নিচ্ছেন। তবে বিত্তগত দিকে ফারাকের কারণে সব ট্রান্সদের মতো হিজড়েদের বৈজ্ঞানিক পদ্ধতিতে লিঙ্গচ্ছেদ করার অর্থ জোগান থাকে না। উল্লেখ্য, উভলিঙ্গ আর উভকামিতা (Bisexuality) এক পরিভাষা নয়, উভলিঙ্গ অর্থাৎ Hermaphrodite এর সংখ্যা প্রতি একলক্ষ মানুষের মধ্যে একজন। হিজড়ে মানেই স্ত্রী ও পুরুষ লিঙ্গ একই সঙ্গে বর্তমান এ ধারণা খুবই ভুল, আমরা যাঁদের দেখি তাঁদের বেশিরভাগই পুরুষলিঙ্গ বর্তমান, এঁরা হলেন আকুয়া (রূপান্তরকামী)। আর লিঙ্গচ্ছেদন হলে তিনি হলেন ছিন্নি (রূপান্তরিত)। মুম্বইয়ের ‘হমসফর ট্রাস্ট’ নামক একটি

সংগঠনের সমীক্ষা অনুযায়ী সারা ভারতে প্রায় ৫০-৬০ লক্ষ হিজড়ের বসবাস রয়েছে। বলা যায় এর মধ্যে ৮ শতাংশ হিজড়ের খোজাকরণ এই সংগঠনের ডাক্তারখানাতেই হয়েছে, তবে বেশিরভাগ খোজাকরণই অবৈজ্ঞানিকভাবে চলছে। স্বপ্নময় এক সাক্ষাৎকারে বললেন, ‘বাস্তবে নারী বা পুরুষ ছাড়া ক্লীব লিঙ্গ বলে কিছু হয় না। উভলিঙ্গ যাদের বলা হয় ধরুন এক লক্ষে একজন। ...যেটা হয় হয়তো অপরিণত যৌনাঙ্গ, ...দেখা যায় জন্ম থেকে যাকে নারী ভাবা হয়েছিল সে আসলে পুরুষ। এর বিপরীত ও হতে পারে। ক্লীব নয়। জীবজন্তুদের মধ্যে ক্লীব লিঙ্গ একমাত্র পতঙ্গের আছে। কখনও কখনও সম্পূর্ণ পুরুষদেরও, মানে ছোটবেলায় যার কোন লিঙ্গগত বিচ্যুতিও ছিল না, পরে দেখা গেছে সে নিজেকে মেয়ে ভাবছে। তার ঐ মানসিক গঠনটাই নেই। যে তার পুংলিঙ্গটাকে নিয়ে বড়ো বিড়ম্বনায় পড়েছে এবং আলটিম্যাটলি সেটা কাস্ট্রেশন এর দিকে যায়। হিজড়েরাই শুধু কাস্ট্রেট করে তাই নয়। অনেক মানুষ আধুনিক প্রযুক্তিতে তার লিঙ্গ বাদ দিয়েছে এবং কখনও কখনও প্লাস্টিক সার্জেনকে দিয়ে তার স্ত্রী যোনি তৈরী করিয়েছে।’^{২২}

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হিজড়ে মহল্লায় যোগ ও শ্যামলী মায়ের কাছে দীক্ষা নেওয়া দিয়ে ‘অন্তহীন অন্তরীন প্রোষিতভর্তৃকা’ উপন্যাসের শুরু। এখানে হিজড়েরদের সামাজিক ও মানসিক স্তরকে গভীরভাবে পর্যবেক্ষণ আছে, আপাত সহানুভূতি নেই, বরং আছে মূলস্রোতের কার্যকলাপকেই উল্টে প্রশ্ন করা। প্রতিটি চরিত্রই মহল্লার এক একটি দিক উন্মোচন করে, আকুয়া হিজড়ে কমল, রাজুরা, নামগুলো শুনলে মনে হয় এদের এখনো পুরুষাঙ্গ বর্তমান, আর ছিবড়ি অর্থাৎ নির্বাণ হয়েছে বর্ষা, মেহেন্দি, পূজা, সজ্জনাদের। চরিত্রগুলোর নাম বেশিরভাগই হালফিলের হিন্দি সিনেমার হিন্দী নায়িকার আদলে রাখা, দীক্ষা নেওয়ার পর হিজড়েরা এই নতুন নাম প্রাপ্ত হয়, এই ধরনের নামকরণ আসলে নিজেকে সমাজের সামনে পূর্ণাঙ্গ নারী হিসেবে প্রকাশ করার চেষ্টা। এই প্রতিটি চরিত্রের মুখে উপযোগী মুখের ভাষা তুলে দিলেন ঔপন্যাসিক। এ প্রসঙ্গে শ্যামলী মা আর সুবীরের একটি কথোপকথন উল্লেখ্য-“...হিজড়েরদের পেছনেও ‘ঠুং ঠাং’ অর্থাৎ শিক্ষিত মানুষেরা লাগে! সুবীর অবাক হয়ে প্রশ্ন করে -‘কেন, ওরা কি জানে না, কত দুঃখে মানুষ হিজড়ে হয়?’ শ্যামলী কোলের কাছে দু-পা গুটিয়ে নিয়ে বলে- ‘এতদিন মানুষের ধারণা ছিল হিজড়ে বুঝি জন্ম থেকেই হয়...কেন - এমন গল্প শুনিসনি, হিজড়ে বাচ্চাকে মা-বাবা আটকে রেখেছিল, পাড়ায় হিজড়ে তালি দিচ্ছিল, আর সেই তালি শুনে ঘর থেকে বাচ্চা হিজড়ে তালি দিল...দ্যাখ আমার মহল্লায় অনেক আকুয়া আছে। ওরা এখনও লিকম্ ছিবড়ায়নি।...সবসময় রহস্য সৃষ্টি করতে হবে, কেউ যেন জানতে না পারে তুই জানানউলি (জানান/লিকম্ আছে)। তোর নতুন জন্ম- সবাই জানবে তুই মায়ের পেট থেকেই হিজড়ে হয়ে জন্মেছিস।’”^{২৩} হিজড়ে জীবনের সঙ্গে সম্পৃক্ত হওয়া ও বাস্তব অভিজ্ঞতা তুলনায় বেশী থাকার ফলে হয়তো ‘ব্রহ্ম ভার্গব পুরাণে’র থেকে এই আখ্যানের মাত্রা ভিন্ন হয়ে যায়। একজন কল্পনার আশ্রয়ে এক অলীক উপাখ্যান রচনা করে আমাদের সঙ্গে হিজড়েরদের এক সংযোগ স্থাপনের প্রথম পদক্ষেপ নেন আর অন্যজন সেই উদ্যোগকে আরো বেশী ত্বরান্বিত করে আমাদের এক তীব্র বাস্তব সত্যের মুখোমুখি দাঁড় করান। মাথায় রাখতে হবে সোমনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়ের পক্ষে কাজটা যতখানি সহজ ছিল, কমল চক্রবর্তীর কাছে ততটা ছিল না। বাংলা সাহিত্যের প্রথম পূর্ণাঙ্গ হিজড়ে উপন্যাস কমল চক্রবর্তীর হাত ধরেই। উপন্যাসগুলিতে চরিত্ররা এই বাস্তব লড়াইয়ের সম্মুখীন হয়েছেন বার বার, কাহিনির প্রতিটি মোড়েই

আমাদের কাছে ‘তৃতীয় লিঙ্গ’র ঘাত প্রতিঘাত আরও বেশি স্পষ্ট হয়ে ওঠে। এই উপন্যাস প্রসঙ্গে স্বপ্নময় বলেছেন, ‘ব্রহ্মভাগব পুরাণ বলে যেটা কমল চক্রবর্তী লিখেছিলেন, তিনি জানিয়েছিলেন ওর সাইয়েন্টিফিক ব্যাকগ্রাউন্ডটা উনি ভালো করে স্টাডি করেননি, গুণগোল হচ্ছে সেখানে, যেখানে সে বলছে হে জগন্নাথ আমাকে তুমি মেয়্যা করে দাও, হে জগন্নাথ আমাকে তুমি ছেল্যা করে দাও, তার মানে তার ক্লীবত্বটাকেই বোধহয় এরা মেয়ে বা ছেলে হতে চাইলেই পারবে। কিন্তু তা নয়। হিজড়েরা কিন্তু ছেলে হতে চায় না। ওরা পুরুষত্বটাকে পুরোপুরি ধ্বংস করে নারী হতে চায়। যার জন্য ওদের আচার ব্যবহার দেহভঙ্গী বডি ল্যাঙ্গুয়েজ অন্য মেয়েদের চাইতে একটু আলাদা... শাস্বতী ঘোষ বোধহয় মেয়েদের ভাষা বলে একটি প্রবন্ধ লিখেছিলেন... সেখানে একটা জিনিস বারবার বলেছেন যে মেয়েদের ভাষার মধ্যে যে গল্পকথন ভঙ্গী থাকে, যেমন, এই শোন না, আমি না, একটা ছেলে এভাবে বললে মেনে নিতে পারবো না। বহুদিনের ইনফিরিওরিটি থেকে এই ভঙ্গিগুলো এসেছে। যেন আমার মুখের কথা যথেষ্ট নয়, আমায় হাত দিয়ে চোখ দিয়েও কথা বলতে হবে।’^{১৪} ‘হলদে গোলাপে’ স্বপ্নময় লিখছেন, ‘যে-সব ছেলে মেয়েলি ধরনের, তারা লিঙ্গ-চিহ্নে পুংলিঙ্গ-ধারী। কিন্তু মনে মনে অনেকটাই নারী। সমাজ যেটাকে মেয়েদের কাজ বলে থাকে, সেইসব কাজ করতে ভালোবাসে। ভাবভঙ্গিও অনেকটাই মেয়েদের মতো। মানে মেয়েদের ভাবভঙ্গি করতে ভালোবাসে।’^{১৫} এই কারণে সে বলে ‘অ্যাঁ ফুচকাওলা, ভাল ফুচকা আছে?’^{১৬} উপন্যাসে দুলাল ওরফে দুলালী একজন হিজড়ে। হিজড়াদের গহিন মানসিক স্তরে প্রবেশ করে উপন্যাসের প্রোটাগনিস্ট অনিকেত বোঝে স্ত্রী সন্তান পরিবার ত্যাগ করে আসলে কেন দুলাল হিজড়ে মহল্লায় যোগ দিল। সামাজিক যৌন পরিচয়কে কোনোদিনই মেনে নেয়নি দুলাল, এই না পারা দুলালকে মৃত্যু পর্যন্ত নিয়ে যেতে পারে জেনেও দুলাল ছিন্নি হয়, পুরুষাঙ্গ ছেদন করে। ‘নর্মাল’ আর ‘অ্যাবনর্মাল’ আমাদের এই গড়ে তোলা সংজ্ঞা ধসে যেতে থাকে যখন আলতা, টিপ, সিঁদুর বিক্রেতা দুলালকে বলতে শুনি, ‘মাইরি বলছি, আমার আসলে আলতা সিঁদুর কাঁটা ফিতে ঘাঁটতে খুব ভাল লাগত। লাল টিপ, হলদে টিপ, নেল পলিশ, সায়ার দড়ি...’ হিজড়ে সম্পর্কে আমাদের আজগুবি ধারণাগুলি মস্তিস্কে ক্রমশ মার খেতে থাকে যখন অনিকেতের কাছে নিজের বউ সম্পর্কে দুলাল বলে, ‘... ওর গতর দেখে, মানে ম্যানাদুটো দেখে, আমার মনে কীরম ধারা হিংসে হত। ভাবতাম ওরম যদি আমার থাকত। ও আমায় খুব আকার ইঙ্গিতে বর-বউ খেলার জন্য বলত। খেলতাম, কিন্তু ভাল লাগতনি খুব।’^{১৭} চরিত্রটির ভাষা ‘অনুধাবন’ করলেই বোঝা যায় হিজড়ে মহল্লায় যোগ দেওয়া মানুষেরা সাধারণত গ্রাম্য নিম্নবিত্ত পরিবার থেকে উঠে আসেন। ব্যাকরণসম্মত বাক্যগঠন অনুসারে পশ্চিমবঙ্গের হিজড়াদের ‘উল্টিভাষা’র খাঁচাটি বাংলা ভাষার (অঞ্চলভেদে উপভাষাগত পার্থক্যও লক্ষণীয়), কিন্তু শব্দভাণ্ডার হিজড়াদের নিজস্ব তৈরী। এই শব্দভাণ্ডারে হিন্দুস্তানী শব্দের আদলেও কিছু শব্দ তৈরী হয়েছে, যেমন, ‘হামসি’ (আমাকে), তুমসি (তুমি), নাগিন (অতিসুন্দরী হিজড়ে), ঢোলকি (ঢোল), পা-পড়তি (প্রণাম জানানো), মওগা (রূপান্তরকামী), ভেল (নাটক), মাংতি (চাওয়া) ইত্যাদি। লক্ষণীয়, অনেকসময় শহরে রাস্তাঘাটে ট্রেনে-বাসে বিষমকামী কোনো ভদ্রলোকের সঙ্গে কথা বলার সময় এরা নিজেদের ভাষা ব্যবহারে একটি ‘রেজিস্টার’ তৈরী করে নেন যে ভাষা কিন্তু পরিশীলিত এবং ‘মান্য’।

সমাজভাষাবিজ্ঞানের অংশ হিসেবে হিজড়াদের ভাষা নিয়ে পূর্ণাঙ্গ গবেষণা এ যাবৎ একটিও হয়নি, বিশেষত পশ্চিমবঙ্গে। ‘অপরাধ জগতের ভাষা ও শব্দকোষ’-এ এই শব্দভাণ্ডারের সংখ্যা অতি অল্প। অজয় মজুমদার ও নিলয় বসুর ‘ভারতের হিজড়ে সমাজ’ হিজড়ে সম্পর্কে বিস্তারিত পরিচয় দিতে চেষ্টা করেছেন, তবে ভাষা নিয়ে বিশেষ বিশ্লেষণ নেই। এই গ্রন্থ সম্পর্কে মানবী বলেছেন, ‘... ‘গবেষক’ শব্দের মান্যতায় তাঁরা শুধু ওই অন্তর্বাসী হিজড়ে

সমাজের বাইরের ছদ্ম বিভাগেই বিভ্রান্ত হয়েছেন। বিভ্রান্ত হয়েছেন বলেই তাঁরা হিজড়ে ভাষার শব্দ ব্যবহার করে হিজড়ে সমাজের যে শ্রেণি বিভাগের পরিচয় দিয়েছেন, তা শব্দার্থ ও বানানেও বিভ্রম ঘটিয়েছে।^{১৮} ভাষা সংরক্ষণের ক্ষেত্রে হিজড়েদের ব্যবহৃত শব্দকোষের একটিই প্রাথমিক গবেষণা করেছেন যিনি, তিনি মানবী বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়। আকারে ক্ষুদ্র এই শব্দকোষই পরবর্তী গবেষণার পথ প্রশস্ত করবে। তবে সমাজভাষাবিজ্ঞানের প্রেক্ষিতে হিজড়েদের ব্যবহৃত ‘উল্টি’ভাষার চুলচেরা ভাষাতাত্ত্বিক বিশ্লেষণ ও পূর্ণাঙ্গ অভিধান রচনা একটি বৃহৎ গবেষণার দাবি রাখে।

সূত্রনির্দেশ

1. হলদে গোলাপ উপন্যাস কিংবা অপরতার সংবেদী নির্মাণ কিংবা যৌনতার বিজ্ঞান, ‘শান্তনু সরকার, চিরঞ্জীব শূর’, (সম্পাঃ) আলোচনা চক্র, ৩১ বর্ষ, ২০১৭ অগস্ট, ৪৩ য সংখ্যাঃ সংকলন ২, পৃষ্ঠা ৫৮।
2. ভক্তিপ্রসাদ মল্লিক, ‘অপরাধ জগতের ভাষা ও শব্দকোষ’, দে’জ পাবলিশিং, কলকাতা-৭৩, প্রথম প্রকাশ-১৯৯৩, পৃষ্ঠা ১৯।
3. ভক্তিপ্রসাদ মল্লিক, ‘অপরাধ জগতের ভাষা ও শব্দকোষ’, দে’জ পাবলিশিং, কলকাতা-৭৩, প্রথম প্রকাশ-১৯৯৩, পৃষ্ঠা ৩৮-৩৯।
4. মানবী বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, ‘বাংলা সমাজ ও সাহিত্যে তৃতীয় সত্তা চিহ্ন’, প্রতিভাস, কলকাতা, প্রথম প্রকাশ-২০১২, পৃষ্ঠা ১৪-১৫।
5. প্রণবকুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায়, ‘চন্দ্রগ্রহণ’, শারদ সংখ্যা’১৪২১, সংখ্যা-২২ বর্ষ ‘১০-সেপ্টেম্বর-অক্টোবর ‘২০১৪, পৃষ্ঠা ৩৪৮।
6. অত্র বসু, ‘বাংলা স্ল্যাং : সমীক্ষা ও অভিধান’, প্যাপিরাস, কলকাতা-৪, প্রথম প্রকাশ-২০০৫, ভূমিকা অংশ।
7. ভক্তিপ্রসাদ মল্লিক, ‘অপরাধ জগতের ভাষা ও শব্দকোষ’, দে’জ পাবলিশিং, কলকাতা-৭৩, প্রথম প্রকাশ-১৯৯৩, পৃষ্ঠা ৭৬-৭৭।
8. ‘হলদে গোলাপ উপন্যাস কিংবা অপরতার সংবেদী নির্মাণ কিংবা যৌনতার বিজ্ঞান’ শান্তনু সরকার, চিরঞ্জীব শূর আলোচনা ‘ (সম্পাঃ) , চক্র ৩১ বর্ষ, ২০১৭ অগস্ট, ৪৩ য সংখ্যাঃ সংকলন ২, পৃষ্ঠা ৬১।
9. অত্র বসু, ‘বাংলা স্ল্যাং : সমীক্ষা ও অভিধান’, প্যাপিরাস, কলকাতা-৪, প্রথম প্রকাশ-২০০৫, পৃষ্ঠা ১৬৫।
10. ভক্তিপ্রসাদ মল্লিক, ‘অপরাধ জগতের ভাষা ও শব্দকোষ’, দে’জ পাবলিশিং, কলকাতা-৭৩, প্রথম প্রকাশ-১৯৯৩, পৃষ্ঠা ৭৭।
11. কমল চক্রবর্তী ‘ব্রহ্মভার্গব পুরাণ’, প্রকৃতি ভালোপাহাড়, কলকাতা, প্রথম প্রকাশ ১৯৯৩-০, পৃষ্ঠা ১৭১।
12. প্রণবকুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায়, ‘চন্দ্রগ্রহণ’, শারদ সংখ্যা’১৪২১, সংখ্যা-২২ বর্ষ ‘১০-সেপ্টেম্বর-অক্টোবর ‘২০১৪, পৃষ্ঠা ২৮৩।
13. সোমনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, ‘অন্তহীন অন্তরীণ প্রোষিতভর্তৃকা’, প্রতিভাস, কলকাতা, ২০০২, পৃষ্ঠা ১২।
14. প্রণবকুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায়, ‘চন্দ্রগ্রহণ’, শারদ সংখ্যা’১৪২১, সংখ্যা-২২ বর্ষ ‘১০-সেপ্টেম্বর-অক্টোবর ‘২০১৪, পৃষ্ঠা ২৮৬।
15. স্বপ্নময় চক্রবর্তী, ‘হলদে গোলাপ’, দে’জ পাবলিশিং, কলকাতা-৭৩, প্রথম প্রকাশ-২০১৫, পৃষ্ঠা ৭৫।
16. ঐ, পৃষ্ঠা ১০৫।
17. ঐ, পৃষ্ঠা ১৭৭।
18. মানবী বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, ‘বাংলা সমাজ ও সাহিত্যে তৃতীয় সত্তা চিহ্ন’, প্রতিভাস, কলকাতা, প্রথম প্রকাশ-২০১২, পৃষ্ঠা ১৪।

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1. অজয় মজুমদার, নিলয় বসু, ‘ভারতের হিজড়ে সমাজ’, দীপ প্রকাশন, কলকাতা-৭৩, প্রথম প্রকাশ-১৯৯৭।
2. অনিল আচার্য ও অর্ণব সাহা (সম্পাঃ), ‘যৌনতা ও বাঙালি’, অনুষ্টুপ, কলকাতা-৯, প্রথম প্রকাশ- ২০০৯।
3. অত্র বসু, ‘বাংলা স্ল্যাং : সমীক্ষা ও অভিধান’, প্যাপিরাস, কলকাতা-৪, প্রথম প্রকাশ- ২০০৫।
4. কমল চক্রবর্তী ‘ব্রহ্মভার্গব পুরাণ’, প্রকৃতি ভালোপাহাড়, কলকাতা, প্রথম প্রকাশ ১৯৯৩-০।
5. ভক্তিপ্রসাদ মল্লিক, ‘অপরাধ জগতের ভাষা ও শব্দকোষ’, দে’জ পাবলিশিং, কলকাতা-৭৩, প্রথম প্রকাশ-১৯৯৩।
6. মানবী বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, ‘বাংলা সমাজ ও সাহিত্যে তৃতীয় সত্তা চিহ্ন’, প্রতিভাস, কলকাতা, প্রথম প্রকাশ-২০১২।

7. সোমনাথ বন্দ্যোপাধ্যায়, ‘অন্তরীণ প্রাণিতভর্তৃকা’, প্রতিভাস, কলকাতা, ২০০২।
8. স্বপ্নময় চক্রবর্তী, ‘হলদে গোলাপ’, দে’জ পাবলিশিং, কলকাতা-৭৩, প্রথম প্রকাশ-২০১৫।

পত্রিকাপঞ্জি

1. প্রণবকুমার চট্টোপাধ্যায়, ‘চন্দ্রগ্রহণ’, শারদ সংখ্যা’১৪২১, সংখ্যা-২২ বর্ষ ’১০-সেপ্টেম্বর-অক্টোবর ‘২০১৪।
2. চিরঞ্জীব শূর, ‘আলোচনা চক্র’, ৩১ বর্ষ, ২য় সংখ্যাঃ সংকলন ৪৩, অগস্ট ২০১৭।

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Prevent and Stop Complementisation Clauses: A Report on the Changes in 19th, 20th, and 21st Century American English

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ABSTRACT

One area in English grammar that is undergoing vigorous change and restructuring is non-finite complementation clauses. To identify specific constructions involving non-finite complementation clauses, Leech, Mair, Hundt, and Smith (2009) suggest the use of specific superordinate or matrix verbs, such as *start*, *begin*, *help*, and *prevent*. Employing a corpus-based approach, this article focuses on the changes of two semantically comparable verbs, *prevent* and *stop*, used in complementation clauses in 19th, 20th, and 21st century American English. Two specific variants considered are:

(i) noun phrase + *from* + -ing

(e.g., She *prevented/stopped* it *from* eating.)

(ii) noun phrase + -ing

(e.g., She *prevented/stopped* it eating.)

All complementation clauses utilised were extracted from the Corpus of Historical American English and examined for quantitative changes from 1810 to 2009, with a focus on the overall frequencies and proportional values. The research findings indicate that towards the 21st century, the 'with from' variant became a dominating trend for both *prevent* and *stop* complementation clauses.

1. Introduction

An area in English grammar that changing and restructuring is non-finite complementation clauses (Leech, Mair, Hundt, & Smith, 2009). To identify specific constructions involving non-finite complementation clauses, Leech et al. (2009) suggest using specific superordinate verbs, such as *start*, *begin*, *help*, and *prevent*. Vosberg (2009) claims that in the process of linguistic change involving non-finite verb forms, major analyses of historical and present-day electronic text corpora show that American English sometimes lags behind, despite it being more usual for British English to be tied to the past. Vosberg concludes that both British and American English follow the same trends in their development, but at different speeds. Conversely, Algeo (2006) argues that today's British English is becoming closer to the common familial form of current varieties whereas American English preserves older uses that have become obsolete in British English.

Although previous studies have reported interesting results for the non-finite complementation clauses (Mair, 2002 & 2006; Sellgren, 2009), no prior studies focus on the diachronic development of non-finite complementation clauses in American English across the 19th, 20th, and 21st centuries. Thus, employing a corpus-based approach, this article describes the results of two semantical verbs, *prevent* and *stop*, used in complementation clauses in 19th,

20th, and 21st century American English. The study is organised around the following research question:

What frequency changes are observed across 19th, 20th, and 21st century American English for:

- (i) *prevent/stop* + noun phrase + *from* + *-ing* (e.g., *She prevented/stopped it from eating.*)
- (ii) *prevent/stop* + noun phrase + *-ing* (e.g., *She prevented/stopped it eating.*)

2. Methodology Issues

2.1 Data source

The primary data for this study is a corpus of written 19th, 20th, and 21st century American English—Corpus of Historical American English (COHA). COHA is a collection of historical American English texts produced by novelists, authors, academics, and journalists from a range of different ages and genders. COHA is compiled by Mark Davies from Brigham Young University, Provo (Utah) with funding from the US National Endowment for the Humanities. COHA is the largest structured corpus of historical English and is freely available on the internet.

COHA contains approximately 400 million words with more than 100,000 individual texts across the period 1810–2009. Each decade has a balance of texts from four different genres, so each genre contributes 25% to the whole corpus. The main sources that are obtained for the different genres are listed as follows:

- i. Fiction: Project Gutenberg (1810–1930), *Making of America* (1810–1900), scanned books (1930–1990), movie and play scripts, Corpus of Contemporary American English (1990–2010)
- ii. Magazines: *Making of America* (1810–1900), scanned and PDF (1900–1990), Corpus of Contemporary American English (1990–2010)
- iii. Newspapers: PDF > TXT of a least five newspapers (1850–1980), Corpus of Contemporary American English (1990–2010)
- iv. Non-fiction: Project Gutenberg (1810–1900), www.archive.org (1810–1900), scanned books (1900–1990), Corpus of Contemporary American English (1990–2010)

2.2 Search queries

To extract the complementation clauses from COHA, a total of 19 search queries were formed to correspond with the 19 different syntactic patterns for each set of complementation clauses. Table 1 exemplifies the formed search queries for *prevent NP from -ing* and their equivalent meanings. One constraint was that these queries were not able to be grouped together as a single query; therefore, each query was carried out separately. The other three sets of complementation clauses followed the same format in Table 1, except for the replacement of *prevent* to *stop* and omission of the preposition or complementiser *from*. All the queries were limited to a maximum of three nouns and two adjectives for standardisation purposes.

Embedded clauses were not included in the search because they were categorised as a minority within this study, which would not affect the results. Example (1) illustrates a construction with an embedded clause:

- (1) He *prevented the girl*, who lives next to his flat, *from flirting with* his best friend.

The embedded clause in (1) which is *who lives next to his flat* will not be caught by the formed search query because the maximum number of nouns that will be caught is three only.

Example (2) clarifies the meaning of the search queries that were formed in Table 1:

- (2) [prevent] [a*][d*][jj*][m*][p*][r*][z*] [n*] [from] [v*g]

This search query (2) will catch the meaning of the following:

Find within the corpus,

‘a pattern consisting of any inflectional form of *prevent*, followed by a *single article* or *determiner* or *adjective* or *number* or *pronoun* or *adverb* or *alphabet* and a *noun*, then by *from* and any *-ing* forms’.

For the other search queries, the meanings are similar to Example (2), except for the different grammatical features, as specified in Table 1. The same process was repeated for other sets of complementation clauses.

Table 1: Search queries used in the COHA (Ong, 2012)

Search queries	Search focus
[prevent] [p*] [from] [v*g]	pronouns
[prevent] [n*] [from] [v*g]	single noun
[prevent] [n*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	double nouns
[prevent] [n*] [n*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	triple nouns
[prevent] [a*][d*][jj*][m*][p*][r*][z*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	single (article or determiner or adjective or number or pronoun or adverb or alphabet) + single noun
[prevent] [a*][d*][jj*][m*][p*][r*][z*] [n*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	single (article or determiner or adjective or number or pronoun or adverb or alphabet) + double nouns
[prevent] [a*][d*][jj*][m*][p*][r*][z*] [n*] [n*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	single (article or determiner or adjective or number or pronoun or adverb or alphabet) + triple nouns
[prevent] [jj*] [jj*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	(double adjectives) + single noun
[prevent] [jj*] [jj*] [n*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	(double adjectives) + double nouns
[prevent] [jj*] [jj*] [n*] [n*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	(double adjectives) + triple nouns
[prevent] [a*][d*] [jj*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	(article or determiner + single adjective) + single noun
[prevent] [a*][d*] [jj*] [n*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	(article or determiner + single adjective) + double nouns
[prevent] [a*][d*] [jj*] [n*] [n*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	(article or determiner + single adjective) + triple nouns
[prevent] [a*][d*] [jj*] [jj*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	(article or determiner + double adjectives) + single noun
[prevent] [a*][d*] [jj*] [jj*] [n*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	(article or determiner + double adjectives) + double nouns
[prevent] [a*][d*] [jj*] [jj*] [n*] [n*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	(article or determiner + double adjectives) + triple nouns
[prevent] [a*][d*] [m*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	(article or determiner + number) + single noun

[prevent] [a*][d*] [m*] [n*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	(article or determiner + number) + double nouns
[prevent] [a*][d*] [m*] [n*] [n*] [n*] [from] [v*g]	(article or determiner + number) + triple nouns

2.3 Methods

On the COHA website, a search query was first entered in the box ‘WORD(S)’ to start the search. The ‘CHART’ button on the display was selected to obtain the frequencies. A pop-up screen containing the frequencies in instances (raw figures) and in per million words appeared (‘CLICK ON BARS FOR CONTEXT’). A total of 380 figures of raw frequencies (20 decades with 19 search queries for each decade) were obtained. After the raw frequencies for each decade were listed, they were calculated and converted to per million words for standardisation purposes. A similar process was repeated for the other sets of complementation clauses. The results were exported to an Excel spreadsheet for analysis.

3. Findings

Two analyses of the distribution of frequencies were conducted and the findings are categorised as follows:

- (i) overall frequency per decade
- (ii) comparison of proportional values.

3.1 Distributions of the overall frequency per decade

Based on Tables 2 and 3, the frequencies (per million words) for both *prevent* complementation clauses (with and without *from* variants) are larger than both *stop* complementation clauses, because there are more occurrences of related *prevent* constructions than unrelated *stop* constructions in COHA. *Stop* has wider meanings and senses; thus, certain *stop* constructions were not extracted for this analysis. This includes embedded clauses within the complementation clauses that were not extracted by the search queries per formed.

Table 2: Distribution of *prevent* and *stop NP from -ing* (Ong, 2012)

Year	Corpus size	<i>prevent NP from -ing</i>		<i>stop NP from -ing</i>	
		Raw frequency	Frequency	Raw frequency	Frequency
1810	1181205	18	15.24	0	0
1820	6927173	246	35.51	2	0.29
1830	13774588	407	29.55	5	0.36
1840	16048393	367	22.87	4	0.25
1850	16471649	399	24.22	5	0.30
1860	17054872	394	23.10	4	0.23
1870	18562265	452	24.35	12	0.65
1880	20315965	479	23.58	10	0.49
1890	20600843	472	22.91	15	0.73
1900	22097593	433	19.50	25	1.13

1910	22700638	462	20.35	31	1.37
1920	25653746	547	21.32	58	2.26
1930	24602615	474	19.27	60	2.44
1940	24347955	494	20.29	69	2.83
1950	24544831	450	18.33	83	3.38
1960	23977232	446	18.60	131	5.46
1970	23815191	470	19.74	143	6.00
1980	25315978	506	19.99	171	6.75
1990	27941535	572	20.47	278	9.95
2000	29567390	609	20.60	354	11.97

Table 3: Distribution of *prevent* and *stop NP -ing* (Ong, 2012)

Year	Corpus size	<i>prevent NP -ing</i>		<i>stop NP -ing</i>	
		Raw frequency	Frequency	Raw frequency	Frequency
1810	1181205	1	0.85	0	0
1820	6927173	27	3.90	1	0.14
1830	13774588	47	3.41	1	0.07
1840	16048393	54	3.36	2	0.12
1850	16471649	70	4.25	4	0.24
1860	17054872	75	4.40	4	0.23
1870	18562265	93	5.01	6	0.32
1880	20315965	81	3.99	12	0.59
1890	20600843	84	4.08	15	0.73
1900	22097593	107	4.84	12	0.54
1910	22700638	89	3.92	26	1.18
1920	25653746	88	3.43	24	0.97
1930	24602615	55	2.28	30	1.26
1940	24347955	38	1.60	21	1.27
1950	24544831	40	1.63	29	1.22
1960	23977232	42	1.75	37	1.63
1970	23815191	42	1.76	49	2.10

1980	25315978	22	1.11	37	1.54
1990	27941535	22	0.79	33	1.18
2000	29567390	18	0.64	35	1.18

Based on Tables 2 and 3, four scatter graphs were plotted (see Figures 1 and 2). Each graph represents the overall development of the *prevent* and *stop* complementation clauses individually. The *x*-axis represents the time periods from 1810 to 2009 (year) and the *y*-axis represents the observed frequency of the constructions (per million words). Note that the graphs were not plotted to a similar scale due to the differences in frequencies.

Regression analysis was used to determine the strength of the relationship between the dependent variable (observed frequency of the constructions, per million words) and the series of the changing variable (time period, years). Regression analysis was used to obtain a general model of the data structure and make predictions for future observation (Howitt & Cramer, 2011). A regression line (the best-fit line) was drawn in each scatter plot. The types of regression analysis used for the graphs in Figures 1 and 2 are linear regression (straight line) and non-linear regression (exponential and polynomial).

Figure 1 indicates that the overall diachronic trend for *prevent NP from -ing* is decreasing towards the 20th century, but then slowly increasing at the beginning of the 21st century (see Graph 1). Meanwhile, *stop NP from -ing* is steadily increasing towards the 21st century (see Graph 2).

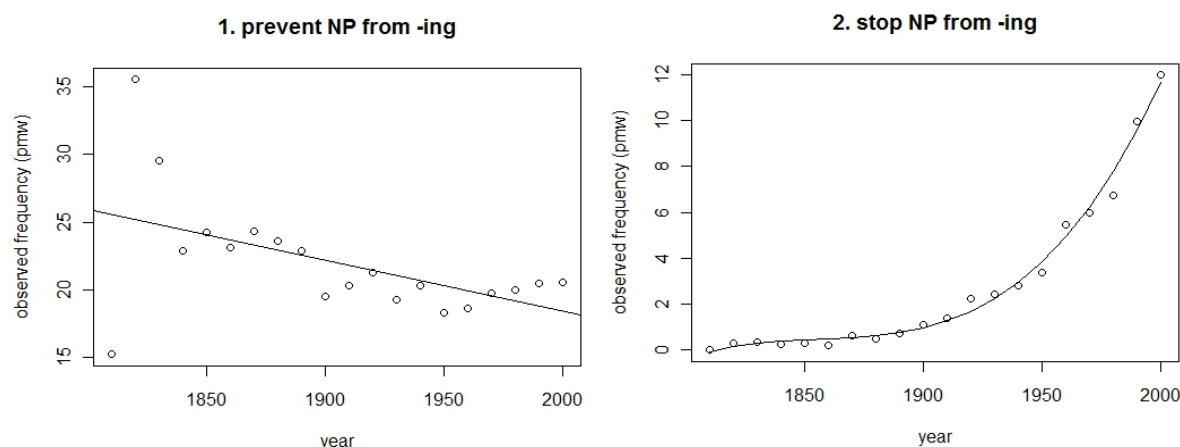


Figure 1: Overall diachronic development of *prevent* and *stop NP from -ing* (Ong, 2012)

Figure 2 shows that the overall diachronic trend for *prevent NP -ing* is decreasing considerably, especially at the start of the 20th century, and continues to decrease towards the 21st century (see Graph 3). Conversely, *stop NP -ing* is increasing steadily at first but starts to decrease from the 1960s (see Graph 4).

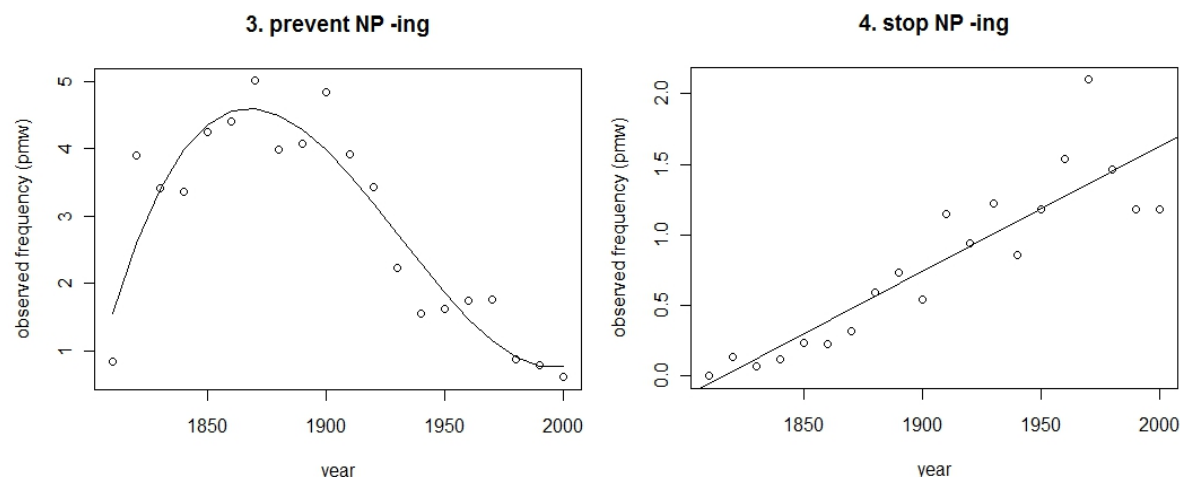


Figure 2: Overall diachronic development of *prevent* and *stop NP -ing* (Ong, 2012)

In summary, both *prevent* and *stop* complementation clauses appear opposite when compared. Generally, both the *from* variants for *prevent* and *stop* are increasing, while both the without *from* variants are decreasing. *Prevent NP from -ing* is increasing slower than *stop NP from -ing*. In contrast, *prevent NP -ing* is decreasing faster than *stop NP -ing*. This suggests the *prevent* complementation clauses are more developed than the *stop* complementation clauses.

3.2 Distributions of the proportional values

As the above findings show, the overall diachronic trends have demonstrated unstable movements. A proportional measurement is used to find out which variant (with or without *from*) is favoured more in 19th, 20th, and 21st century American English. The raw frequencies for *prevent NP from -ing* and *prevent NP -ing* were calculated as proportions, which were converted to percentage for standardisation purposes as the corpus size for each decade is different. With these percentages, a single graph was plotted for both *prevent* complementation clauses as shown in Figure 3. The x-axis represents the time periods from 1810 to 2009 (year) and the y-axis represents the proportional values (%). These steps were repeated for both *stop* complementation clauses and the result is presented in Figure 4. Both graphs were plotted using a similar scale as the maximum proportional value is 100%.

Based on Figure 4, it is clear that *prevent NP from -ing* dominates American English from the 19th to 21st century when compared with *prevent NP -ing*. The average without *from* variant is almost a tenth of the with *from* variant starting from the 19th century until the beginning of the 21st century. Although the proportional values for the with *from* variant decrease towards 1900, they are still approximately an eighth of the total proportion when compared to the opposite variant. From then, the values start to increase again and stabilise towards 2000. These high ratio values favouring the with *from* variant typically show a tendency of omitting usage of the without *from* variant completely in the late 21st century.

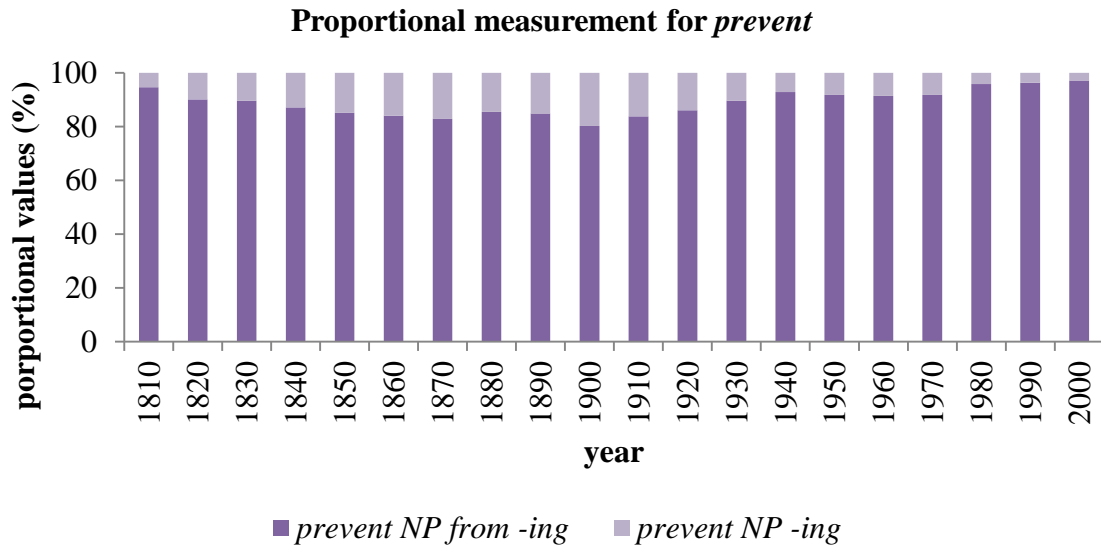


Figure 3: Proportional measurement for *prevent* complementation clauses (Ong, 2012)

As Figure 4 illustrates, *stop NP from -ing* is favoured when compared with *stop NP -ing* in American English. The proportional values for the without *from* variant is almost half the proportional values for the with *from* variant at the beginning of the 19th century, although they fluctuate. In the early 20th century, the proportional values of the with *from* variant start to increase. The proportional values for the with *from* variant are an average of an eighth of the total proportion towards the beginning of the 21st century. This indicates that *stop NP from -ing* has a strong tendency to become a more preferred variant than *stop NP -ing* in American English at the beginning of the 21st century due to the increasing proportional values demonstrated in Figure 4.

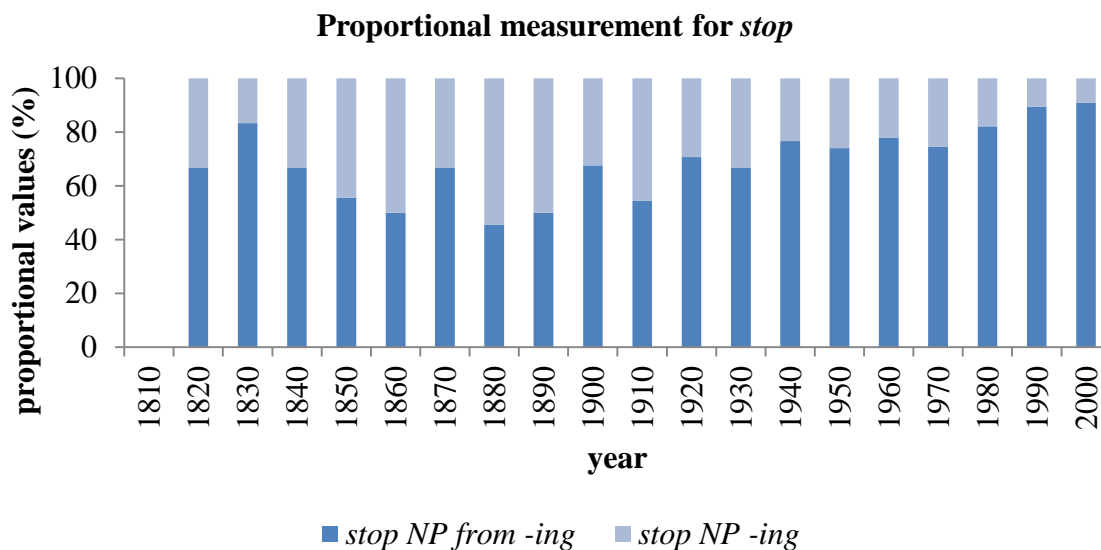


Figure 4: Proportional measurement for *stop* complementation clause (Ong, 2012)

Figures 3 and 4 do not display stabilised trends but trends that are generally common at different time periods. Although the with *from* variant for *prevent* dominates from 1810 to 2009, it decreases and reaches its lowest frequency in 1900. It then gradually increases and becomes a common trend towards the 21st century. The with *from* variant for *stop* fluctuates from 1810 to 1920. It does not clearly demonstrate an indication of how the trend will develop. However, after 1920, it increases slowly and becomes more common towards the 21st century. Both phenomena give an indication that American English keeps on developing because they do not show stable directions. Further investigation is needed for a deeper exploration of both complementation clauses.

In short, as Figures 3 and 4 show, the *prevent* and *stop NP from -ing* variants are being used more often than the *prevent* and *stop NP -ing* variants in American English for all three centuries. The development for *prevent NP from -ing* has almost come to a halt when compared with *stop NP from -ing*, because its overall trend is more stabilised. Its proportional values are also much higher and more consistent when compared with the proportional values for *stop NP from -ing*. Towards the 21st century, there is very little use of *prevent NP -ing*. Conversely, the trend for *stop NP from -ing* is still increasing and expected to behave similarly to *prevent NP from -ing*, which is to not use *stop NP -ing* in the future.

4. Takeaways

This article was based on my master's thesis research. The analyses have presented some interesting results based on COHA. In general, towards the 21st century, the with *from* variant became a dominating trend for both the *prevent* and *stop* complementation clauses. The increasing and decreasing trends of the *prevent* and *stop* complementation clauses has provided an understanding of the process of language change in American English over the past 200 years.

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